

Massachusetts Peace Soc.

Addresses.

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ADDRESS

DELIVERED

AT THE ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY,

DECEMBER, 25, 1826.

BY TIMOTHY FULLER.

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HON. TIMOTHY FULLER,

SIR,

Pursuant to a vote of the Massachusetts Peace Society, the undersigned Committee, respectfully present you the thanks of that Association, for the able and pertinent Address delivered by you last evening at their Annual Celebration, and request of you a copy for the press.

Very respectfully,

Sir,

Your obedient servt's,

JOSEPH BAKER,

DAVID REED,

CHARLES CLEVELAND,

} Committee.

Boston, Dec. 27, 1826.

Boston, 27th Dec. 1826.

GENTLEMEN,

I submit to your disposal the Address, delivered by me at the last Anniversary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, agreeably to their request, politely communicated by you in their behalf.

Your candor will not impute it to affectation on my part, to declare, that I exceedingly regret to have been prevented by professional and other occupation, from performing the duty assigned to me, in a manner more worthy of the exalted purposes of that Philanthropick Institution.

I am Gentlemen, with sentiments of the highest esteem,

Your Friend and ob't Servant,

TIMOTHY FULLER.

MESSRS

JOSEPH BAKER,

DAVID REED, and

CHARLES CLEVELAND,

} Committee.

AN ADDRESS, &c.

If the nature and character of man can be fairly ascertained from history, some color is afforded to the philosopher, who asserted, that the natural state between man and man is a state of war. Perhaps too the greatest portion of the writings, which have descended to us from ancient times, the admired productions of poetry and eloquence, have *sanctioned* the idea, that war is the proper business of men and of nations; and that to record, and illustrate, and emblazon their exploits, is the noblest occupation of genius and of art. The labors of those, who have aimed to *preserve* the human species; to improve the means of comfort, and to elevate the moral condition of our world, have passed unnoticed and unsung; while the eyes of mankind have been taught to admire the glare and the glory, and to exalt to earthly thrones and to celestial honors their ruthless destroyers. The degradation of the multitude could only be completed, by adding the sanction of religion to this perversion of the faculties; and for thousands of years the invisible deities, which the ignorance or the cunning of mankind had invested with the government of the world, were demons of cruelty and the patrons or instigators of every crime.

How strange the infatuation! that man should invert the fundamental law of his creation! Coming from the hand of GOODNESS and BENEVOLENCE itself,

with the lights of reason and intellect, it were impossible to trace the cause of his first aberration from duty and happiness, but by recurring to the oracles of truth. In those sacred pages we are informed, in the simple and sublime language of inspiration, of the origin of vice, and crimes, and wars, and death, and “all our woes.” But if we there learn the sad story of our departure from rectitude, we are also fully instructed in the way of recovering our lost virtue; of climbing back to the high abodes of happiness and glory.

The Prince of Peace himself, whose advent Christians this day commemorate with pious gratitude, proclaimed to miserable, perverse, and infatuated man the only restorative to his forfeited happiness and to the favor of Heaven. **BENEVOLENCE**—*Love to God and love to his creatures*, comprehends the fulfilment of every duty; prompts and quickens every feeling and every action of justice and kindness towards all, with whom he comes in contact; and inspires him with sublime emotions of gratitude and devotion towards the Author of this goodly frame of Creation—the all pervading mind, which alone discerns the miraculous mazes of the natural and moral world, still guiding and governing the whole with perfect justice and perfect goodness, ever “educing good from ill.” That the mission of Jesus Christ is *divine*, that he was the Messenger of the Supreme source of benevolence, is deeply felt by every human being, who hears, and understands, and greets with enthusiastick delight the tidings, which he brings—“*Peace on Earth and Good will to man.*” Search through the pages of antiquity, read the systems of pagan mythology, from the creation of the world to the present time; in none of them is found the pure characteristick of a divine origin, which is comprehended in this sublime this gladdening annunciation,—“*Peace on Earth.*”—Armies, sheathe

your swords; Kings, repress your rage and your ambition; Nations, embrace each other, and interchange offices of love and kindness. And while empires, and kingdoms, and embattled hosts resume the occupations of peace and harmony, let all the elements of discord in every human heart be hushed to repose;— Envy, rage, revenge, ambition, rapacity, avarice, jealousy, all be henceforth repressed and tamed, or banished from the smiling abodes of human felicity. “The lion and the lamb lie quietly together, and there shall be none to hurt or destroy in the wide dominions of the Heavenly Lawgiver.

But the reign of Peace has not arrived. The darkness of pagan idolatry still shrouds by far the largest portion of the globe, and the mists of superstition still invest the horizon even of the civilized nations, and intercept the beams of heavenly truth. The long night of error and crime has benumbed the faculties of the human race, and they slowly and reluctantly open their eyes to the rays of the newborn day. Many indeed, nay the greater part of mankind, even of those, who profess and believe themselves disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus; believe nevertheless, that *some* of his precepts, and particularly this of universal peace on earth, are not intended for the present times, or for *any* times before the millennium; and they patiently wait “the Lord’s own time” to bring about the happy era. Others believe, that as Christ’s *kingdom* is not of this world, so his maxims of peace and benevolence are quite impracticable on earth, and are merely to be preached and *professed* in this imperfect and frail state of things. In a *future* world they are ready to admit, that discord may entirely cease, and peace pervade the tranquil abodes of the chosen few. They look for *new* Heavens and a new Earth, “wherein may dwell righteousness;” and deem the present “visible diurnal sphere,” sur-

charged as it is with vice and guilt, and teeming with the rank weeds of every hateful passion, a scene unfit for the introduction of the sublimer doctrines of our pure and holy religion.

Is this view of things warranted by either reason or scripture? Does not reason require the exertion of every faculty to meliorate the condition of mortality; and what can relieve it from a greater load of misery, than the termination of national violence? That the Saviour of the world intended *all* his precepts, and especially the one in question, for practical use, is certain, since he expressly so declares; at the same time, he predicts the wars and contentions, which were to arise from the *perversion* of his doctrines, as well as from hostility to them. But while he foresaw and foretold such consequences, as the natural effect of the inveterate prejudices, and corrupt practices, and destructive passions, which pervade the whole world, he nevertheless enjoined upon his disciples to preach "peace to men." Not indeed that peace was to come alone, while men remained deep sunk in vice; but repentance and *reformation* must pave the way for universal peace and happiness. In the march of civilization and knowledge, the doctrines of Christianity have constantly led the way, encouraging all ranks of men and all nations, where they have been received, to combat the detestable practices and prejudices of pagan idolatry; promising large rewards during "the life, which now is," and the full measure of bliss in the life to come. These doctrines thus enforced have changed the face of human affairs in a degree, which is scarcely less than miraculous. War has not indeed ceased, but it is disarmed of half its horrors. Massacre, extermination, and *slavery* are no longer avowed as the object of war or as its necessary concomitants. Hostile armies, except in the heat of conflict, spare the lives of the vanquished, and often extend to them the offices

of humanity. Even in the terrifick scenes of carnage on the field of mortal strife itself, when the blazing artillery is mowing down its thousands, and the fiends of destruction are rioting in human gore ; oft may be seen the form of the Angel of Mercy, repressing the ferocity of the combatants, assuaging the anguish of the wounded, breaking the fetters of the prisoner, and drawing tears of pity from the conqueror. To *spare* the vanquished is now the glory of the warrior, as in ancient times it was his boast to *exterminate*. The spirit of the PRINCE OF PEACE, as it rescued the Prophet in the fiery furnace, is sometimes seen to quench the flames of battle, and to snatch from its fury the devoted victim. The chivalry of the middle ages, was but a spark from the altar of Christianity ; it discarded the rancor of *revenge* in war, and introduced the courtesies of life, where before the stern visage of hatred had never relaxed. Since the age of the crusades and of knight-errantry the civilized world has made rapid strides in the arts of peace and human improvement. The invention of printing, the mariner's compass, the discovery of a vast continent, and the great reformation from popery have signalized not more the lofty powers of human intellect than the benign influence of a pure religion. Yet superstition's iron sceptre remained unbroken ; and despotism's foot pressed half the nations to the dust. Private and feudal wars were indeed proscribed as incompatible with vassalage ; and the Sovereign alone claimed the awful prerogative of war. Much seemed gained by this reservation, and for several centuries the rage of conquest and the rivalry of princes were less sanguinary ; till the accumulation of wealth by commerce, and the invention of the funding system, enabled kings and emperors to keep on foot large standing armies. Hence ambition revived, and the world seemed to retrograde in the road of improvement. Innumerable pre-

texts kept Europe in armor, and oceans of blood were poured out by *loyal* armies to gratify the folly, or caprice, or ambition of mortals, whose real insignificance and worthlessness were screened from the eyes of their subjects by the trappings of royalty and the splendor of diadems.

It cannot be doubted however, that *some* of these wars on one side at least, were defensive, and therefore, if not to be avoided but by submission to gross oppression or to subjugation, were justifiable; but in the labyrinth of diplomattick chicanery and the fallacy of history, it is seldom possible to discriminate between them. Indeed so unsettled were the principles of national right, that the aggrieved often in repelling the attack became the aggressor. In the case of our own glorious revolution nothing could be more obvious, than our right to expel the armies of Britain from our shores; and to this great object and the security of our independence, our efforts were confined. But had we followed our success by an invasion of England, we could no longer have invoked the God of armies to lead our hosts to battle. So the first war of Revolutionary France was defensive, when the Austrian and Prussian armies invaded her. Her first triumphs over her invaders, though not unstained by ferocity and crime, were in the main sanctioned and approved by the principles of self defence. But successful defence was soon followed by the invasion and conquest of her neighbors. It was not enough to repel, she must *punish* her invaders. RETALIATION was invoked to palliate and justify the depopulation of cities, villages, and districts, and the slaughter of armies defending their soil, their families, and their temples. RETALIATION was the vain pretext which sent the armies of the Republic into Italy, to Spain, to Egypt, and to Palestine. And after the Soldier of fortune ascended the car, and assumed

the reins of conquest, when the plea of retaliation grew stale, the armies of France spread themselves over Europe, trampling down alike the throne, the temple, and the altar, and laying waste the nations, it was in the name of the demon NECESSITY. *Necessity* was the plea of the ruthless Napoleon, to subjugate Italy, Spain, Austria, and the Powers the of Baltick; and had he completed the work, on the other continent, the same or a stronger Necessity would have sent his legions to draw this western hemisphere within his iron grasp. *Retaliation* and *Necessity*, twin monsters, hateful Imps of the infernal regions! Your Mission to mankind has filled the measure of human woe. The earth has been wasted, her fruits destroyed, children made fatherless, and parents childless; fire and sword have spread ruin, havock, misery, and anguish through countries, where peace and happiness had dwelt before, to gorge the voracious appetites of these accursed fiends! In due time however their bloody path was turned, and Retaliation and Necessity drove back their hordes of vultures swift as the whirlwind. The haughty conqueror felt their power, his talisman was lost, and his myriads were overwhelmed in the torrent. The retribution was terrible. The guilty suffered indeed, but with them suffered millions of the innocent and good. Thus even in this awful reaction, which delivered Europe from insatiable ambition, the innumerable innocent and helpless sufferers, involved in the overthrow of the guilty, must fill every heart with sorrow, and every eye with tears.

At the final termination of this cruel and sanguinary war, which had continued with little intermission for twenty years, during which all the nations of Europe, who ranged themselves under the banners of the cross, were seen mingling in the mortal strife; the friends of humanity at last obtained a moment of re-

pose. The scenes, through which they had past, and which had suspended their labors and chilled their hopes for so many years, were reviewed with *horror*, but no longer with *dismay*. They examined with anxious care the origin of a contest, which was disgraceful to Christian nations, and which in an age so much distinguished by the lights of science as well as of religion, seemed in retrospect incredible. Superstition and fanaticism had little share in the struggle at its *commencement*; but at a later period fear enlisted them in defence of inveterate abuses in government and religion. Political science and the rights of man, no longer confined to the closet of the philosopher, had taken deep root not only in America but in England, France, and Germany. It might therefore have been anticipated, that the first campaign, to which we have alluded, in which the allies were defeated and driven from France, would have taught them to respect the rights of independent states, and that France herself would have restrained her revenge and her ambition. Had she done so, her revolution might have been happy and glorious. The abuses of her ancient dynasties might have been eradicated, and the interests and the happiness of that great people have been placed on a foundation immutable as right and lasting as time. An achievement so glorious, a revolution so successful in that powerful country, must soon have extended its salutary influence to surrounding nations; and despotism and superstition, however reluctantly, must have yielded to the claims of enlightened communities. The present age might then have seen rational liberty established, and the problem of the *most perfect form of Government* would have been in a train of peaceful solution. The religion of the GOSPEL every where tolerated, every where encouraged, and every where open to the ordeal of free enquiry, had spontaneously furnished a strong pillar to support the

fabrick of Freedom, without claiming any share in the emoluments of office or the pride of power.

Such reasonable anticipations had proved utterly illusive. Science, and philosophy, and religion had failed to tame the ungovernable passions. The rage of the combatants and the obstinacy of the conflict had surpassed all the wars recorded in history, even among the most barbarous nations. Surely then, when the fray had ceased and the plague was stayed, it became the Philanthropist to bemoan the past and to seek a remedy for the future. The storm had gone by, the shrieks and wailings of suffering humanity had subsided; all were seeking a cure for wounds yet green, but scarce projecting enterprizes for future profit and aggrandizement. The moment was favorable. The still small voice of reason might be heard. That voice was raised in America, in England, on the continent,—calling to the friends of Peace in every clime. The sound was musick to a suffering world. Long had it been stifled by the clangor of arms, the shouts of the assailants, the groans of the dying. It was hailed as the *Echo* of the first message of "*Peace on Earth and good will to men.*" Concert was required among the votaries of humanity, and a system of measures must be adopted, which might contribute, at least in some humble measure, to spread abroad the sound doctrines of universal Peace. The benignant purposes of this association were acknowledged by all. All were invited to cooperate, as all were alike interested. No political party, no sect of Christians, were excluded; as no ambitious scheme of profit or power was concealed beneath the veil of Philanthropy. Foremost in the ranks of the Sons of Peace we saw a veteran of the Church,

———" whose doctrines and whose life
 "Coincident, exhibit lucid proof,
 "That he is honest in the sacred cause."

To his indefatigable labors the publick may justly attribute in an eminent degree the first efforts for the organization of this Society. His unremitting exertions during the eleven years of its establishment, even though at times reduced by sickness to the borders of the grave, to keep alive the nascent spark, to fan the embers, and to enkindle the holy flame of Charity, and love, and Christian fellowship challenge for him the veneration due to a preacher of Righteousness, the untiring APOSTLE OF PEACE.

It cannot have escaped the attention of an enlightened and discriminating publick, that the purposes and pretensions of Peace Societies in general, are very much misapprehended, and are hence deemed chimerical if not utterly ridiculous. It is however by superficial observers chiefly, that such unfavorable views are entertained. Yet it may not be unseasonable concisely to advert to some points, which fall within the scope of its recognized principles. And first we are ready to admit, as a *general* purpose of its labors, the *abolition of all war* publick and private; and because this complete triumph of the pacifick principle is not likely to be soon achieved, are its advocates to be treated as well meaning but deluded visionaries? This is not the estimation, in which *those* are held, who aim at perfection in any art or *science*, or in the attainment of moral or *political* good. Galileo, and Bacon, and Lock and Newton, and Franklin, aimed at the goal of *perfection* in the sublime pursuit of physical and metaphysical science; their flight was lofty, but far below the empyrean of perfection; yet they are deservedly held in the highest admiration. The maxim should be,

“That such shall meet rewards, who can excel,
“And those he praised, who but endeavor well.”

The labors of the Peace Societies have been marked

by zeal and industry, nor is it deemed too much to claim in behalf of many of their publications the meed of sound discretion and an intimate knowledge of the moral and political condition of civilized society. No crusades are by them recommended to *establish peace by making war*, upon tyrants or infidels, upon the Holy Alliance or the Turk, because those potentates have violated the peace of Europe under pretence of maintaining it. Nor have they recommended non-resistance to invasion and oppression, as some well meaning sects of Christians understand the precepts of the Gospel as enjoining. This would be to recommend the baseness of slavery or the peace of the grave; to invite the ruffian and the robber to deeds of atrocity and rapine. It would be to silence the voice of nature, and to invert her first and indispensable law of *self defence*. No such doctrines are entertained, or could subsist for a moment, without the prostration of all civilized society, and introducing in its place the wildest anarchy, and the speedy annihilation of every thing valuable in existence. Self defence then involves the right and duty of *defensive war*, and the great difficulty consists in finding a broad and obvious boundary, over which it is unlawful to travel. So also in the exercise of the simple *individual* right of self defence; it may often be difficult to determine, how far you may harm or cripple an assailant before your resistance becomes aggression. Much must be left to moral principle, much to the habitual sense of justice in the individual or the nation in such situations. But let both remember that they are in presence of an OMNISCIENT eye, and that moderation, and forbearance, and mercy are among the brightest attributes of Divinity.

The great aim then of the friends of universal peace is, not to paralyze the arm of self defence, but

to inculcate and spread through the world the exalted principles of truth and justice; since the violation of these is the source of hatred, revenge, and war. Truth, and justice, and peace, are kindred spirits, and will ever dwell together. To spread a high sense of justice so extensively even in *two or three* powerful nations, as to make it the aim and the interest of the sovereign and his ministers to do justice to neighboring states and to preserve peace with all nations, would be a mighty stride towards complete success. In popular Governments, where the rights of the people are well guarded, it seems not very difficult to apply the same principles of right in discussing the relations of their *own* country to other nations. And since "unsuccessful or successful war" is fraught with intolerable evils and manifold sufferings, the interest of the community coincides exactly and obviously with its duty. To do justice to neighboring nations, and ask only justice in return, will generally find early and effectual support in publick opinion. Against PUBLICK OPINION few elective rulers will have the hardihood to involve their country in war.

To this extent, the spirit of peace and justice we may venture to assert, already pervades the community, of which we are members. Whatever opinions a few insulated persons may entertain, the nation itself will not commit, nor suffer her rulers to commit, injustice or violence to her neighbors. Nor will she require that her *own* principles or reasonings on questionable points shall be taken as infallible. Such points can be submitted without humiliation to more impartial umpirage.

But how shall these equitable and peaceful doctrines be generally diffused? What means have been discovered to disseminate them through other lands and through the world?

It might not be a hopeless task to inculcate piety and

personal virtue among the subjects of a despotick government, as far as it suited the purposes of despotism to permit such principles to be disseminated. But it would be idle to expect in such a government, that the principles of *national right* and justice would be tolerated by the despot; or if tolerated, would be allowed to influence his counsels or his negotiations with his neighbors. On the other hand, our times have witnessed the jealousy of the Sovereigns of northern Europe in regard to the political instruction of their subjects; even the bible itself has been proscribed by a Potentate, whose own dangers and sacrifices, and ultimate deliverance from the conqueror's sword, seemed for a time to awaken in him a sense of the rights of mankind and a wish to preserve the peace of Europe for reasons less selfish, than usually had marked the motives of arbitrary princes. In such countries publick opinion is but a shadow, hardly discernible beneath the cloud of despotick control. A whisper uttered by the breath of fear to the ear of distrust. The peace, which alone is meant by tyrants, when they profess to love and to seek it, is a tame submission to their will. Austria gave peace to Naples, when she sent her armies to exterminate the Carbonari, and to stifle beneath her iron yoke the rising spirit of freedom in that country. So also France, with the concurrence of her continental allies, gave peace to Spain by shedding the blood of her patriots, and by eradicating every vestige of liberty, which they had for so many years, through so many mortal struggles, maintained. And thou, O bleeding Greece, art offered *such a peace* by the relentless foes of Freedom and the Cross; while Christian nations look tamely on, and *Holy Alliance* exhort thee to patient endurance of bondage, massacre, and torture from the successor of Mahomet, your *legitimate Sovereign* and mas-

ter! Such a peace alone can be admitted by tyrants, as annihilates every remnant of human right, and prostrates in the dust the energies of the freeborn mind. Be not deceived. National justice, properly understood, is the parent stock, on which alone can be engrafted the scion of Universal Peace. But National justice will never be cultivated by arbitrary Princes. They have other inclinations and as they deem, other interests. In their code of morals, power is *right*, and war and conquest the test of power. Other codes of right their subjects must never know, or if known, must never utter.

Let the friends of Peace then turn their thoughts and their efforts to more genial climes, where the rights of mankind are acknowledged and respected; and where as far, as understood, they are ingrafted into the forms of Government and the spirit of the laws. Under such favorable auspices, it cannot be difficult to enlighten the publick mind, and to establish equal and exact justice to all nations, as the grand principle of diplomacy. Justice so long estranged, is at length restored to its rightful influence; and nations learn that *justice* is sound political wisdom.

But while we may reasonably expect in our own country to see the salutary maxims of justice, prudence, and moderation displayed in our relations with foreign countries, we must not flatter ourselves with the vain expectation, that we shall in all cases find a corresponding spirit in them. From some of them indeed we may hope much, since similar institutions of civil Government, if not equally favorable to publick virtue and publick liberty, have nevertheless in a high degree imbued the people with a knowledge of their rights and a sense of their interests. In such countries publick opinion will keep their rulers in the course of rectitude, and with-

hold them from wasteful and destructive collisions with their neighbors. Our own continent has just shaken off the yoke of the old world, and with it let us hope will be discarded the bigotry, the superstition, and the political depravity of their oppressors. Republicks and states are now forming in the emancipated provinces; and there is reason to believe, that a spirit of justice, liberty, and political wisdom predominates in establishing the forms of Government, which are to give them the character and stability of free and independent nations. It becomes the virtuous and good of all nations, and especially of our own free and happy states to impart, as far as in us lies, to the rising communities the benign spirit of our own constitution, our laws, and maxims of peace and national justice. Much has already been done by our example; much by the intercommunication of the citizens of our States with those of the newborn Republicks; and much may effected by the friendly policy, which our Government, in coincidence with the feelings of the nation, has adopted in its diplomattick intercourse with them. It scarcely seems an expression of exaggerated hope, to predict a system of amity and justice so humanely conceived and so wisely adjusted between ourselves and all the existing nations of this hemisphere, as to ensure a long reign of harmony and friendship with all its attendant blessings.

There needs no *alliance* offensive and defensive, to ensure the security of this Western world, against the reckless ambition and ruthless tyranny of European nations. Forms of government so far similar, as to promote the instruction, the morality, and the liberty of the people, cannot fail to inspire mutual confidence and attachment between contiguous countries. If therefore the Republicks of the South, which have manfully shaken off the yoke of Spain, are now so

fortunate as to find a Washington in the Military Chief, who has so often led them to victory, so often *professed* his veneration of our illustrious Patriot, and who more than once declined with no *apparent* reluctance the supreme power, they may hope for virtue and wisdom enough among the people to rescue them from *other* dangers and *other* snares. Their peril at this moment is indeed imminent. The glare of military exploits is ever prone to turn the heads of the ignorant and unthinking. On all sides they are beset by mercenary armies. If the *Chieftain* wants virtue, his pretorian guards or his Janissaries are ready at his nod to plunder, burn, destroy, or enslave. The people must submit; or they must redeem themselves by a new conflict perhaps more sanguinary, than that, which severed them from Spain. Heaven avert this terrible alternative! But whatever the alternative, whatever the sacrifices, may they deliver themselves from military oppression, as they *have* delivered themselves from a foreign yoke; and may they establish the imprescriptible rights of man upon a sure and permanent basis. Without doubt there exist among them the relicks of a detestable superstition, and a mass of ignorance almost impenetrable to the rays of religious, and moral, and political truth. No miracle is expected to dispel the gloom of fanaticism, and to enlighten in a *moment* the spell-bound multitude. Freedom and knowledge are *associates* in the work of improvement; *neither* of them can advance rapidly or securely without the other.

Let not the advocates of peace, let not the government and people of the United States, look with indifference upon this momentous crisis. Upon the issue of it must in a high degree depend the growth and prosperity, if not the independent *existence* of those States themselves; and of course the value of

our intercourse with them as free, intelligent, and powerful nations. But what is far more important, upon its issue must likewise depend the progress of political knowledge, and of those sacred principles of truth and justice, which are ultimately in the course of providence to give peace and happiness to mankind. Should Bolivar so much admired, so much applauded, so often dignified by a comparison with the highest name in the annals of patriotism, degenerate at last into a vulgar hero, a military usurper, the betrayer of his country; great indeed will be his degradation, loud the execrations of mankind, deep and eternal the odium of posterity. Let him beware of the temptation, lest he share the fate of *him*, who so lately seemed to hold the destinies of EUROPE in his hand. The career of military power glared upon the eye, and bewildered the senses; but was followed by swift retribution upon the usurper. He, who might forever have been honored as the champion of freedom, is consigned to the faithful historian to record in blood his deeds of injustice, usurpation, and oppression. Let *him* then, who still soars in the meridian of success, warned by the fate of lawless ambition, take counsel from the GREAT and GOOD FAYETTE, crowned with the benedictions of a grateful nation; let him learn wisdom from his own imputed prototype, and become unequivocally, irrevocably, gloriously, the benefactor of nations, "THE WASHINGTON OF THE SOUTH."

Peace once established in the Western hemisphere upon the immutable principles of justice between nations, all subjects of difference submitted and decided by impartial umpires mutually chosen; publick faith religiously observed, and the sanction of enlightened publick opinion, founded on the publick interests, the unerring guide of every free government

and of every free people ; the purposes of philanthropy will be half attained, and the regeneration of the elder nations of the globe may be soon accomplished and must be near at hand.

In the complicated affairs of life the casuist will often find difficulty in deciding the *right* path, and will sometimes be tempted to choose the *expedient*. In doing this the most specious reasons will present themselves in thick array at the call of self love and self interest. So in the adjustment of differences between nations, the statesman may be peculiarly liable to error, even though he may be the elected representative of a free people, and bound to sustain their dignity, and to vindicate their rights. The high confidence reposed in him by the constitutional suffrage of the nation, imposes an awful responsibility. He does not indeed promulgate his *decrees*, and exact the silent obedience of the prostrate crowd ; but his is the higher prerogative, to *recommend* measures, which he deems conducive to the publick good ; to accompany his recommendation with his *reasons*, and thus to enlist the intelligence of the nation in their favor. Thus sustained by the moral force of a wise people, they are irresistible. The most awful responsibility rests upon his recommendation, when it involves in its consequences war with a neighboring state. Once only since we became a nation has the Organ of the People's sovereign power recommended the dread resort. The accumulated wrongs and indignities, which impelled him to it, are well remembered, and could scarcely be exceeded except by actual invasion. The question naturally presents itself, was this declaration of war on the part of the United States, under the pressure of all their wrongs, a justifiable measure ? Innumerable reasons may be offered to prove either the affirmative or the nega-

tive ; and it would ill become this place and this occasion to question the rectitude or the expediency of an act of the constituted authorities of our country, supported by the voice of that country itself. It is enough to say, if it were *just*, it was nevertheless *lamentable* :—The evils which it brought in its train we must deeply deplore, but we rejoice in the confidence, that our national character has been sustained, while humanity accompanied our warriors to the field, and the prowess displayed by sea and land may long deter our enemies from wanton violation of our rights. Our constitution has sustained the fearful shock, and our free institutions have escaped the spoiler's hand.

The experience acquired by government and people strongly admonishes, and will long admonish them, to avoid war, as the most terrible calamity.

Since this eventful period in our youthful annals, we have been constantly beset with differences with various nations, and have diligently pursued our just demands upon them by *peaceful means*. In many instances we have obtained a tardy recompense for injuries, while in others our remonstrances have been treated with silent neglect, or have been evaded or rejected. So pacifick has been our language, and so patient our course, that the offending parties seem no longer to trouble themselves with answering, or in any way regarding our complaints. Shall we go to war with France or England or both to obtain redress ? While we would avoid the imputation or suspicion of dictating or advising in these momentous circumstances, we may I trust be excused for hoping and *believing*, that our peace will not be interrupted, and that our rights will be vigorously sustained; till they shall be conceded, if not from a regard to *justice* at least from a dread of universal odium. Temperately to demand a re-

paration for injuries, though long denied, is not to compromise our dignity; but to shed oceans of blood, exhaust the wealth and energies of our country, except in defence of our independence or the integrity of our territory, would seem unpardonable rashness or extreme folly.

We have already remarked that the claims of one nation upon another and their mutual differences may be submitted to impartial umpires without a compromise of national *dignity*. And this mode of adjustment is so obvious and so easy, that it seems difficult to account for the fact, that history has not recorded *one* resolute effort of any Statesman or of any Nation to engraft it into the code of national law. Far more difficult and complicated, though certainly of laudable tendency, was the celebrated council of confederated nations proposed by the great and humane Henry the 4th of France; and in late times urged by our illustrious Philosopher and Statesman Franklin. In our late treaty of Peace with England however, a far more *practical* adjustment of certain specifick subjects of difference in regard to territorial boundary is provided, by referring them in the last resort to an impartial and friendly power. This umpirage, thus mutually agreed upon was at last *resorted* to after the failure of our negotiations and arguments on the points in controversy. And in recurring to the previous negotiations, the reasoning of the two parties by their respective commissioners, and above all to the impartial, clear, and satisfactory manner, in which the investigation was made and the decision announced by the umpire; high and conclusive evidence is afforded in favour of the wisdom and feasibility of this or a similar mode of adjusting the differences of Nations. From differences of far less magnitude destructive wars have a thousand times arisen. All history is full of the crim-

som records of such wars. Where then is the *objection* to such a tribunal? The dignity of both parties is equally preserved, and nothing is sacrificed but the fictitious *infallibility*, with which the writers on national law have inconsiderately if not dishonestly invested the sovereign power.—A fiction, which without doubt originated in the same benighted times with the monstrous pretention of “the divine right” of kings. It is indeed a *kindred* fiction; for if the rights of kings were indeed divine, they might well be gifted with infallible wisdom, and secured from the possibility of thinking and judging, as well as of *doing* any wrong. Since these infallible sovereigns however seldom if ever judge or act *alike*, when their caprices or interests are in collision, it becomes all but courtiers and flatterers to abandon the pretension. The sovereign power then wherever it is placed by the constitution or laws of any nation, ought be regarded, as it really *is*, human, frail, and fallible; liable always to be swayed by passion, pride, and interest. The efforts therefore of every just and pacifick Statesman should be directed to the object of establishing some tribunal, which may be as far removed from all suspicion of unfairness as possible. Difficult as this may seem, a due consideration of the subject will probably show that it may be attained; and the hazard avoided of an appeal to the *mediation* of any foreign power. Such mediation though not now enforced by the sword, as the usage has sometimes been, might be often embarrassing, and sometimes open to suspicion of injustice or corruption. In all wars the rights of the citizens and subjects of neutral nations are liable to be violated, and to be drawn in question before the municipal tribunals of the offending party. These rights of neutrals, though in the first instance they are *personal*, often become ultimately the objects of national concern and of

national grievance. If the belligerent tribunals take the laws of nations for their guide, the neutral nation and its citizens have seldom much ground of complaint.

During the late wars in Europe, in which Great Britain so largely participated, and when her cruisers arrested the progress of our neutral commerce, the appeals to her justice were first made through her Courts of Admiralty; and it is due to those Courts to admit that those appeals were seldom made in vain, until the *Executive* power interposed, and required their obedience to unjust and arbitrary rules and orders of the king in Council unknown to the codes of international law. The interference was open, and avowed, under the odious and infamous plea of retaliation upon the enemy. The obstacle was too great to be overcome by the integrity of the judge; yet the rectitude of his principles has not been questioned.

This and other examples prove that it is not difficult to constitute a tribunal of learned, intelligent, and upright men, selected upon fair principles of reciprocal and equal rights for the adjustment of controversies between nations. Such a tribunal would hold a high and awful responsibility. Not alone the rights and interests of the nations, from which they would be selected, would be the object of their regard; but the great abstract principles of right and justice between *all nations*. Their opinions, their reasonings, and their judgments would be spread before the eyes of the civilized world; and if found to be such as approved themselves to the learning, and wisdom, and sound intelligence of an enlightened age, they would soon be adopted as rules of right and equity in national law. Such high responsibility and such grave considerations could not fail to ensure the profoundest wisdom and justice in their decisions. It is not too much to anticipate in them a general spirit of rectitude,

and of wisdom and intellectual power, inaccessible to corruption and superior to suspicion; as well as great and obvious improvements in many of the existing principles or rather *dogmas* in the codes of international jurisprudence. Many of these are known, and admitted to be useless, absurd, and barbarous by every enlightened jurist, who can only lament the inadequate means existing among nations for effecting reformation so much desired. It does not lie within the compass of this discourse, to enter into particular details of existing defects in national law, the relicks of barbarous ages long gone by; but there is one at least of which this humane and enlightened audience might deem the omission ill judged and improper—the sanction of *private* war on the ocean. If private war on *land* is interdicted between belligerent nations for its barbarity and useless cruelty; it is not difficult to prove that the injustice is equally great, and that the cruelties and enormities, caused by it on seas far remote from human eye and human succour, must be still more terrible. To this it may be added, that peace itself does not and *cannot* terminate the depredations of cupidity and the atrocities of reckless banditti. Many exceptions ought certainly to be allowed, but the melancholy truth must force itself upon every mind, that the plunderers, and pirates, and murderers, who have for so many years infested our southern shores and the West India islands, are in very many instances the remnant and refuse of the mercantile warfare, sanctioned and countenanced by the maritime belligerents in the late unhallowed conflicts. The abolition of private depredations upon the peaceful navigator, would greatly soften the ferocity of war, and avert an incredible proportion of its wickedness and misery. To secure this great concession to humanity

would do honor to the present age and to the Christian name.

The friends of Peace will never abandon the great purposes of their association. They have great encouragement from the present state of the world. The elements of existing abuses in human society and in the social compact have been dragged from the hidden recesses and mouldering piles of monkish superstition and feudal tyranny. They have been boldly grappled by the enemies of oppression of the last and of the present ages, and exposed to the eyes of mankind. If the voice of patriotism has been silenced, and the very name proscribed, the *spirit* is not extinct, that spirit is *immortal*. By whatever name it may have been stigmatized by the minions of despotism in the decrees sent forth for its extirmination, it still pervades all ranks of men, and its elastick power must soon be irresistible. The millions of our race so long involved in desperate superstition and intellectual darkness, will at length behold the dawn of truth. The imprisoned mind will soon walk forth to a joyful meeting with reason, knowledge, liberty, and religion. Despotism and misrule will shrink from sight, and the inhabitants of both hemispheres arrange themselves beneath the shelter of just, and legitimate and free institutions of Government. AFRICA shall no longer groan beneath the scourge; ASIA shall be delivered from the rapacity of EUROPE; The tropicks shall yield their delicious fruits unmixed with contagious pestilence. The treasures of nature shall come from every clime, at the call of industry and science. The arts and enterprise of man shall diffuse comfort and plenty, while the bounties of Heaven shall be tasted with *moderation* and pious *gratitude*. O glorious vision of human happiness! The eye of Christian philanthropy would fain behold

thee; the suffering nations welcome thee from far; angels hail with joy the auspicious era; and HEAVEN itself sheds its benignant beams on the glorious accomplishment of its sacred promise, "PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD WILL TO MEN."

Address
from his daughter
ADDRESS,

DELIVERED

AT THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

*7572-40

MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY,

December 25th, 1820.

=====
BY HON. JOSIAH QUINCY.
=====

Published at the request of the Society.

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ADDRESS.

THE records of history embrace a period of six thousand years, abounding in war, in battle and slaughter, with occasional and local intervals of short and feverish peace ; in which, nations seem to stay rather than rest ; stopping to pant, and to gain breath for new combats, rather than to form a business state of permanent tranquillity. In whatever condition, on whatever soil, under whatever sky, we contemplate man ; be he savage, or be he civilized ; ignorant, or enlightened ; groping amid the darkness of nature, or rejoicing in the lamp of revealed truth ; be it island, or continent ; sea, or shore ; wherever multitudes of men are, or have been, there will be found traces of human blood, shed in inhuman strife ; there will be found death, scattered among the races of men, by the hand of—brother-man !

It is now more than eighteen hundred years, since “the author and finisher of our faith,” came, ushered in by an angelic host, proclaiming, PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD WILL AMONG MEN ; since the Son of God descended from the right hand of the Father, for the great, and almost special purpose of enforcing the voice of reason, by the solemn sanction of the com-

mand of the Most High, that "men love one another." Yet, strange to tell! wonderful! passing wonderful! scarce three centuries had elapsed from his advent, before the cross, the emblem of his peace and his love, became the standard and escutcheon of wars, as fierce and as bloody, as the crescent, the emblem of hate and of strife, ever waged. And, in these later days, notwithstanding science has, now, for almost four centuries, been pouring its mild and radiant stream of light into every sense and upon every land, yet, as it were but yesterday, sixty thousand men, dead on the field of Waterloo, terminated, probably only for a short, passing period, a war of twenty years' continuance, of which, at the least estimate, two millions of human beings were the victims!

Such is the scene, which the mind seizes, as it casts a bird's eye glance, along the horizon of human history.

In this actual condition of our nature, you, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Massachusetts Peace Society, have united to try the strength of public associations against this natural tendency of our race to war; to attempt by combination and cooperative exertion of the mild, the virtuous, the religious, and humane, to calm this turbulent scene; to limit the causes and evils, or, if heaven so pleases, annihilate altogether the influence, of that propensity to mutual destruction, so universal and scarcely less than innate, in our species.

Under what auspices? With what hopes? From what circumstance in the social, moral, or intellectual condition of man do your endeavours derive encour-

agement, or even countenance? Is man less selfish, less craving, less ambitious, less vindictive now than formerly? If all the old ingredients, which compose human nature, are still boiling in the crucible, what reason to expect that future experiments will materially differ from the past? If in every nation, under heaven, there be, at this day, ten thousand times more swords than ploughshares; more spears, than pruning hooks; if every where, war be taught as a science, and success in it be the theme of the sober applause of the few, and of the mad exultation of the many; on what ground rests the opinion that any, much more that every, nation of the earth will abandon a system, which, from the beginning of the world has been, and to this hour is, among all nations, a chief object of pursuit, and the principal foundation of pride and of glory? If all, or at least, if the greater part of nations do not concur, in abandoning this system, can any one nation abandon it safely?

These are questions, which the spirit of patriotism asks, half doubting, half consenting, as it ponders purposes such as yours, noble, generous, elevated, in their conception and principle, yet apparently repugnant to the known propensities of our species, and contravening the established course of human conduct in every period of history.

These are questions, which the spirit of war asks, half fearing, half sneering, as it stands, like its great progenitor, "with nostril wide, upturned, into the murky air, scenting its prey."

To some of these questions I shall attempt an answer, and to all of them allude, while on this occasion

I consider the causes of war among nations, and the circumstances in the condition of the civilized world, which afford better ground of hope, than ever before existed, of greatly limiting its ravages, and even of restraining them altogether; and thence offer to you, gentlemen, some encouragements for perseverance, and to your fellow-citizens some reasons for cooperating in the objects and labours of your society.

“In all experience and stories,” says the great Bacon,* Lord Verulam, “you shall find but three things that prepare and dispose an estate for war, the ambition of the governors, a state of soldiery professed, and the hard means to live among many subjects; whereof the last is the most forcible and the most constant.”

In reference to these causes of war, it may be asserted, without any of that overweening zeal, which men call enthusiasm, and independent of the character, or the promises of our religion, that three facts exist in the nature of man and in the condition of society, which give rational ground for the opinion, that they will be gradually limited in their influence, and may be made ultimately to cease altogether.

The first fact is, that man is a being capable of intellectual and moral improvement; and that this is true both of the individual and of the species.

The second fact is, that the intellectual and moral improvement of our species has already advanced in this very direction and on this very subject; wars being, in fact, far less bloody, and conducted on principles, more mild than was the approved usage, in former periods of society.

* On the true greatness of Britain.

The third fact is, that the intellectual and moral influences, which have arisen and are extending themselves in the world, necessarily lead to a favourable change in all the enumerated causes, on which the existence of war depends ;—repressing the ambition of rulers ;—diminishing the influence of the soldiery ; and ameliorating the condition of the multitude.

As to the first fact, I shall not undertake to prove that man is a being capable of intellectual and moral improvement ; and that this is true both of the individual and the species. It is the voice of all history and all experience.

Nor will the second fact require much more elucidation. A very short recapitulation of the temper and principles, prevalent in war, at former times, will make its truth apparent. The earliest record of wars is that of the Israelites, about fifteen centuries before the Christian era. On taking a city,* they destroyed utterly men, women, and little ones. Sometimes† the people were made tributaries and slaves. At others, nothing that breathed was left alive. Notwithstanding this, it does not appear, that there was any thing peculiarly savage in the character of the Israelites. Although they acted under a sense of the divine command ; yet there can be no doubt that the principles, on which they conducted their wars, were perfectly in unison with the general rules of warfare, recognized by all nations, at that period of society.

Homer, who, next to the sacred writers, is deemed to give authentic accounts of the manners of the earliest times, witnesses that our species had made no ma-

* Deut. ii. 33.

† Ibid. xx. 10, 13.

terial moral improvement in the principles, regulating the state of war, during the three or four centuries, which elapsed between the invasion of Canaan and the siege of Troy. Chieftains steal into each others camps, and massacre the sleeping, in cold blood. Captives are immolated to the manes of Patroclus. The dead body of Hector is dragged in triumph about the walls of his native city, in the sight of his bereaved parents, consort, and countrymen.

During the entire period of ancient history, the rights of war included the right of extermination, as inherent in the conqueror, and in the vanquished there inhered no rights ; neither of life, or liberty, or property. The form of ancient society made no difference in the efficacy and universality of this principle. Kings, emperors, consuls, were all occupied in one chief concern ; that of training and fleshing their followers to the sport of destroying the human species, under the name of enemies ; and for this purpose, enlarged on all sides, and to their utmost extent, the rights of conquest. Republics were, in this respect, no better than monarchies, and precisely for the same reason ; because in those, as in these, the many were needy and ignorant ; and the few, cunning, ambitious, and interested.

It is necessary only to state these facts to convince every mind that war is conducted in a better temper and is of a milder aspect, in present, than in former times. It is, however, important, and will be illustrative of the general scope of my argument, to remark, that the amelioration, effected in the conduct of wars, has, chiefly, resulted from the improved intellectual

and moral condition of mankind, rather than directly from the military class itself. Almost all the amelioration in the art of war may be traced to the effect of domestic influence upon the warrior ; his regard for character at home ; and the fear of incurring contempt and shame among his own countrymen. As far as we can form any opinion of the conduct of European armies, at the present day, when in the field, they are nearly, if not quite, as wanton and licentious, as formerly. Love of plunder is as strong in the breasts of modern, as it was in those of ancient warriors. They have no more shame now, than in former times, at growing rich on the spoils of the conquered ; but think it, as much as ever, a great and glorious matter, if going to war beggars, they return from it nabobs. The chief restraint, which has been laid, in modern days, on the spirit of ancient warfare, may be traced to the improved moral sense, and the direct moral influence of men in civil life. This moral sense is not as yet sufficiently elevated to be offended at the bringing home, by military men, of gold, silver, and merchandise, plundered from enemies. And accordingly, the military, at the present day, grasp at these with avidity.

But the moral sense of the period does reluct at entailing, in perpetuity, the miseries of conquest upon the persons of the vanquished. In consequence, military men bring home no more captive females as mistresses and servants ; nor do they reduce vanquished males to the condition of slaves for life ;—except, indeed, they happen to be black ; a case, for which the

moral sense of the age has not, as yet, every where, provided.

An exception, indeed, must be made to these remarks, in relation to that strange, mysterious, semi-savage code, called "the law of honor." However criminal, in a moral, and however ridiculous, in an intellectual point of view, this code of unwritten law is, yet it has had, unquestionably, a favourable effect, in softening and elevating the military character. The necessity of killing, or being killed, which this law prescribes, at the call of any one, who may deem himself injured, or insulted, has had a direct tendency to curb the insolence and overbearing humour, natural to men, exposed to the temptations inseparable from a life merely military. It is a law of restraint calculated to influence those, who, recognizing no law contravening the will of their officer, are only to be kept in awe by the apprehension of personal danger. The law of honor, therefore, by putting every military man, at the mercy of every one, who chooses to call him to combat, results in this, that those, who are, professionally, without law, become a law to themselves, through fear of the consequences. The operation of the law has been conformable to the anticipations of the iron-clad legislators, who promulgated it; the perpetual appeal to personal danger, which this law establishes, being found, in most cases, to operate, like a charm, on these fighting spirits. For, although fear is a term, not admitted into the military code, yet it is found by experience, that, in all dangers, except those, which are included in their contract with their commander, and in those, to

which habit has made them familiar, this class tremble quite as much as other philosophers.

Another effect of this code has been that, under its influence, fighting and killing one another, is, no longer, even in the field, a matter of blood, but a matter of business. Military men are cool, when they contract to do the work of slaughter ; and as cool as nature and nerve will permit, when they are performing the task. Under this law ancient friends, when engaged in opposite service, meet and endeavour to kill one another, without any impeachment of mutual love and friendship. If both survive, their harmony is unbroken, by this mutual attempt on each other's life. If either fall, the survivor, perhaps, builds a monument to his memory, and mourns for him as a brother. Military men, and those, who occasionally adopt their practice, in civil life, no longer slay one another, in a passion. And, though their business is, as much as ever, to stab, to shoot, and to kill, yet this is not done with savage looks and barbarous rites, but with a fashionable air, and in a gentlemanly way. They meet ; are measured and civil in their deportment ; they kill ; or are killed. When the life of either is gone, the affair is over. They do not, as formerly, deny honourable burial. They cut off no hands, or ears. They take no scalps. They thrust no thongs through the feet of the dead, and drag the body in triumph at their chariot wheels.

These advances, although not great, are yet somewhat. As far as they extend, they indicate a degree of moral improvement ; some mitigation of the calamities of war ; some diminution of its causes and its inducements, proceeding from the military class itself.

But the great and only sure ground of hope of amelioration, in relation to these objects, rests on the improving moral and intellectual condition of mankind.

The third and most material fact to be illustrated was, that such intellectual and moral influences are extending themselves, in society ; and necessarily lead to a change, in all the enumerated causes, on which the existence of war depends.

But first, is it true, that moral and intellectual influences are extending themselves, in society ? Is it true that we enjoy a brighter intellectual day ; and a purer moral sky, than anterior periods of the world ? Can any ask ; dare any ask ; whose hands hold the page of history, and whose minds are capable of receiving impressions from surrounding objects ?

At what previous time did the world exhibit the scenes, we, at this day, witness ? When did science ever, until this period, present itself to the entire mass of the community, as their inheritance and right ? When, for the purpose of arresting the general ear, and promoting universal comprehension of its precepts, did it before adapt its instructions, to every form of intellect ; to every stage of human life ; to every class of social being ? Science, indeed, existed, in former times. But, where ? In the grove of Academus with Plato ; dreaming concerning the soul of the universe. In convents, among cowed monks and fasting friars. In colleges, accessible, only, to the favoured few. Iron-clasped, and iron-bound, in black letter folios. Locked in dead languages. Repelling all, but the initiated.

Where exists science now ? No more immured in cells ; no more strutting, with pedant air and forbidding looks, in secluded halls ; it adapts itself to real life ; to use ; and to man. It prattles with the babe. It takes the infant on its knee. It joins the play of youth. It rejoices with the young man, in his strength. It is the companion of manhood ; the solace and the joy of the hoary head. It is to be seen, in the field, leaning on the plough ; at the work-bench, directing the plane and the saw ; in the high places of the city, converting, by their wealth and their liberality, merchants, into princes ; in the retirement of domestic life, refining by the aid of taste, and knowledge, the virtues of a sex, in whose purity and elevation man attains, at once, the noblest earthly reward, and the highest earthly standard of his moral and intellectual nature. Science no more works as formerly in abstruse forms, and with abstract essences ; but, in a business way ; seeking what is true and what is useful ; purifying, elevating, and thus producing, by degrees, slow indeed, but sure, a level of intellect in the whole mass ; suited to the state, and illustrative of the relations and duties, of all the parts, of which it is composed.

If this be true of the intellectual state of the period, what shall we say of the moral ? Can knowledge advance and virtue be retrograde ? Grant that this is sometimes the case in individuals ; are these instances examples of the general rule ; or exceptions to it ? Are such unions of corrupt hearts, with elevated intellects, not rather monsters, than natural forms of being ? If knowledge be a right comprehension of nature and of the actual relations of things,

can this exist without establishing the conviction of the eternal coincidence of happiness with duty? Is it not as plainly the voice of nature, as it is of scripture, that "the paths of wisdom are pleasantness and peace?" If a wise and good Deity has formed that structure of things, which we call nature, can acquaintance with that structure result in any thing else than a perception of those attributes, which constitute his character, and of the eternal connexion, which subsists among them; and of consequence, which subsists among like attributes, belonging to man, feeble, indeed, but yet, in kind, emanations and prototypes of those of the Deity?

These, however, are general reasonings. Let us advert to facts.

There was a period in which men worshipped stocks and stones; and birds and beasts; the sun, moon, stars and clouds; when they sacrificed human victims to their gods; when trees, and the canopy of heaven were their coverings and they contended with wild beasts for food, shelter and existence.

"In Greece, in civilized, intellectual Greece, three fourths were slaves, holding even life at the capricious will of their masters; those proud masters themselves the slaves of ignorance and dupes of priestcraft—fluctuating between external war and internal commotion; anarchy and tyranny.

"Rome, in its best days, polluted by the abomination of domestic slavery, waging eternal war with the world, offering only the alternative of subjection, or extermination; rude in arts; with no philosophy, and a religion, whose gods and ceremonies make one blush, or shudder.

“ In more recent and modern times, what scenes of confusion, persecution and distraction ! Kings tyrannizing over people ! Priests over kings ! Men the property of every petty chieftain ! Justice perverted. Christianity corrupted.”*

Detail is needless. It is enough to state the facts. We all feel the moral advancement of the present period of society.

How have the useful and elegant arts been advanced ! With what skill nature is made subservient to the wants, conveniences, and refinement of life ! It is unnecessary to recapitulate. We all realize the change ; and that it is great and wonderful ; not sudden, but progressive.

If such be the fact, why should not the future correspond with the past ? Why should not the species continue to advance ? Is nature exhausted ? Or is there any evidence of failure, in the faculties, or of diminution in the stimulus of man ? On the contrary, what half century can pretend to vie, with the last, in improvement in the arts, advancement in the sciences, in zeal and success of intellectual labours ? Time would fail before all could be enumerated. Let one instance suffice, and that in our own country.

Scarcely ten years have elapsed, since the projects of Fulton were the common sneer of multitudes both in Europe and America ; and those not composed of the most ignorant classes of society. He, indeed, has already joined the great congregation of departed

* See Fox's lectures on the corruption, revival and future influence of genuine christianity. p. 239.

men of genius ; but where are his inventions ? Penetrating the interior of this new world ; smoking along our rivers ; climbing, without canvass, the mountains of the deep ; carrying commerce and comforts, unknown and unanticipated, to inland regions, and already establishing a new era in navigation, and new facilities for human intercourse ; incalculable in benefits and in consequences.

So far from having any reason to believe that the progress of human improvement is stationary, or that it is henceforth to be retrograde, there is just reason to believe, that intellectual and moral improvement and social comforts are to advance, with a rapidity and universality, never before witnessed.

There are two coexisting facts, peculiar and characteristic of the present age ; which encourage this belief. The first is that universal diffusion of knowledge, to which allusion has been already made. The second is the facility, with which this diffusion is effected.

All the improvements of man's social, moral and intellectual condition, in former ages, occurred, under the existence of a state of things, in which intellect, morals and comforts were, almost exclusively, the monopoly of the few. In every country, the mass of society were oppressed by thrones, and dominations, and military despotism. At the present day, the many are every where rising, gradually, into influence and power. Moral and intellectual cultivation are no more restricted to a few favoured individuals ; but proffered to the whole species. The light and warmth of science are permitted to penetrate the

lowest strata of society ; reaching depths never before explored ; and there expanding seeds of improvement, not only never before developed, but whose existence was absolutely unknown.

The press, also, by its magic power, almost annihilates time and space, in its rapid spread, pervading every class and every climate ; making, more and more, mutual acquaintance, commercial interchange, and intellectual intercourse, the strong ties of peace among nations ; approximating the world to a state of general society ; in which the bond of man to man is recognized ; and humanity is becoming, every day, less and less the dupe of intrigue and artifice. States touch each other, no longer, only at those corrupt and irritable points called king, noble, or chieftain. Mind embraces mind, in spite of intervening seas, or wildernesses. An allegiance to intellect, to morals, and religion, begins to be acknowledged among multitudes, in every land, which is undermining that false and artificial allegiance, by which mankind have, at former periods, in the train and at the beck of statesmen and warriors, been dashed against each other ; contrary to the law of their God and their nature.

If these views are true, do they not justify the opinion, that the progress of moral and intellectual improvement will continue ; that it is advancing ?

If advancing ; in what course ; and in what direction ? Can it be doubted that the first and necessary effect of this progress of society must be the amelioration of the condition of the multitude ; in other words, removing that “ hard means to live,” which is declar-

ed by Lord Bacon to be "the most forcible and the most constant of all the causes, which prepare and dispose an estate for war?" That this must be the first and necessary effect of a high moral and intellectual state, generally produced, is self-evident.

Nor is the tendency of such a condition of knowledge and virtue to repress "the ambition of rulers," less palpable. It is impossible but that, in proportion as a people become wise and virtuous, they must incline to be ruled by men of this character. Indeed rulers, themselves, must necessarily partake of the renovated condition of mankind. In elective governments, none but the good and wise would be elected; or if elected, continue in influence, but a short time. In hereditary governments, monarchs and nobles would be influenced by the virtues of their subjects; or at least be compelled to pay to them the homage of hypocrisy. Thus the second enumerated cause of war "the ambition of rulers," must, by necessary consequence, find its antidote, in the moral and intellectual condition of the people.

As to the third cause of war, "a state of soldiery professed," in other words, the influence of the military class, a state of society, such as I have described, and as we have reason to anticipate, will not so much diminish its influence, as annihilate the whole class, by rendering it useless; when there is no employment and no hope of it, for the military class, it can have no continuance.

A people highly moral and highly intellectual, would not endure the existence of such a distinct class. They would realize that the principle of military life result-

ed, in making moral agents, machines ; free citizens, slaves ; that a soldier, as such, can have no will but his officer's ; knows no law but his commands ; with him, conscience has no force ; heaven no authority ; conduct but one rule, implicit, military obedience. It requires but a very small elevation of the moral and intellectual standard, at present, existing among mankind, to make them realize the utter incompatibility of the existence of such a class, with long continued peace, or with that higher moral and intellectual state, to which both nature and duty teach man to aspire.

If it be asked, how a nation, destitute of a military class, can be safe from foreign violence and invasion, it may be answered, first, that the existence of such a class is ever a main inducement both to the one and the other. For either your military force is weaker than your neighbour's, in which case he is insolent ; or it is stronger, in which case, you are so ; or it is equal, in which case the very uncertainty begets, in both, a spirit of rivalry, of jealousy and of war. Second, that all experience has shown that a well appointed militia, defending their own altars and homes, were competent to every purpose of repelling foreign violence, and invasion. Third, that a society, which should engage in no intrigues, covet no foreign possessions, exemplify in all its conduct a spirit of justice, moderation, and regard for the rights of others, would assume a position the most favourable to predispose its neighbours to adopt, toward it, a kind and peaceable demeanor. Should it fail, its conduct would be effectual to concentrate around it the affections of

its own citizens ; and thence produce unanimity and vigor in the use of all the means, to which it might be necessitated to resort, for the purpose of repelling actual invasion.

The amelioration of the moral and intellectual condition of man, is not, however, at this day peculiar to any one nation. In a greater, or less degree, it is incident to all. By commerce, by the press, by a very general acquaintance with each other's language, by identity of pursuits, similarity in the objects of religious faith, and by coincidence of interests, the various nations, composing the civilized quarters of the globe, have mutually elevated and instructed, and are, every day, mutually, elevating and instructing one another. Thought and invention, in any one nation, exist for the common benefit of all. Every where the same scenes are passing. People growing more enlightened ; more resolved ; more powerful. Monarchs more wise ; more timid ; less arbitrary. In all nations, the multitude are grasping after a representative control, in the management of state affairs ; and sooner, or later, they will be successful. Kings begin, already, to realize the necessity. They must feel it more. They cannot choose but to yield to it. The light is too powerful, it cannot be shut out. Knowledge too penetrating, it cannot be excluded. Let emperors and kings league ; let the North pour forth its military hordes. These are only the obstacles appointed by Providence to ensure greater certainty to that universal amelioration of the human condition, to which man is destined, by rendering it slowly and gradually progressive. The enormities of

the French revolution evidence the guilt and crime, in which a nation may be involved, by having light and freedom put into its possession, before it is prepared to receive them. Monarchs and their hosts are but instruments in the hands of Providence; destined to check the rapidity, not forever to terminate the intellectual progress, of our species. To be effectual and permanent, this advance must be slow. Fetters must be broken off, by degrees, from nations, which have been, for ages, in chains. Light must be poured gradually upon the eye, which is first introduced to the day. This is the law of our nature. This is the course of Providence.

It is impossible not to perceive, that the extension of these influences, among the mass of mankind, must, even in Europe, tend to diminish the recurrence of war, not only from the reasons and consequences, already urged, but also from the actual state of European soldiery; the necessary result of their education, their habits and their relations to society. In our own country, accustomed as we are to associate, whatever there is of the military character in it, with the services and interests of our revolution, or to see it, little separated from the virtues and innocence of civil life, we can scarcely form an idea of the degraded moral and intellectual condition of the mere soldiery of Europe. Their own statesmen and historians seem at a loss to express their abhorrence of the whole class. "War makes thieves," says Machiavel, who was himself no enemy to the profession, "and peace hangs them.* For those, who know not

* Art of War. B. 1.

how to get their bread, in any other way, when they are disbanded and out of employ, disdaining poverty and obscurity, are forced to have recourse to such ways of supporting themselves, as generally brings them to the gallows."

The experience of our own day is not very different. From the revival of the ancient system of buccaneering in the West India seas, and the crimes, committed in every part of Europe and America, since the cessation of hostilities, it is apparent that those, who can no longer rob and murder, under the sanction of civil society, have, at length, set up for themselves ; and are carrying on their old trade, at their own risque and under their own authority. What better can be expected from men, sold like slaves, from one despot to another ; contracting to do the work of murder, for hire ; careless, for whom ; indifferent, against whom ; or for what ; expecting pay and plunder ; these assured, asking no further questions.

It is impossible, without recurrence to feelings and sentiments of a higher and purer nature, than those, induced by common life, to do justice to the deep moral depravity and the cruel bloodstained scenes of ordinary warfare. Alas ! How must they be viewed, by higher intelligences and virtues !

Science and revelation concur, in teaching that this ball of earth, which man inhabits, is not the only world ; that millions of globes, like ours, roll in the immensity of space. The sun, the moon, " those seven nightly wandering fires," those twinkling stars are worlds. There, doubtless, dwell other moral, and intellectual natures ; angelic spirits ; passing what man

calls time, in one untired pursuit of truth and duty ; still seeking ; still exploring, ever satisfying, never satiating, the ethereal, moral, intellectual thirst ; whose delightful task it is,—as it should be ours,—to learn the will of the Eternal Father ; to seek the good, which to that end—for them and us to seek,—he hides ; and finding, to admire, adore, and praise,—“ him first, him last, him midst and without end.”

Imagine one of these celestial spirits, bent on this, great purpose, descending upon our globe ; and led, by chance, to an European plain, at the point of some great battle ; on which, to human eye, reckless and blind to overruling Heaven, the fate of states and empires is suspended.

On a sudden, the field of combat opens on his astonished vision. It is a field, which men call, “ glorious.” A hundred thousand warriors stand in opposed ranks. Light gleams on their burnished steels. Their plumes and banners wave. Hill echoes to hill the noise of moving rank and squadron ; the neigh and tramp of steeds ; the trumpet, drum, and bugle call.

There is a momentary pause ;—a silence, like that, which precedes the fall of the thunderbolt ; like that awful stillness, which is precursor to the desolating rage of the whirlwind. In an instant, flash succeeding flash pours columns of smoke along the plain. The iron tempest sweeps ; heaping man, horse, and car, in undistinguished ruin. In shouts of rushing hosts,—in shock of breasting steeds,—in peals of musquetry,—in artillery’s roar,—in sabres’ clash,—in thick and gathering clouds of smoke and dust, all human

eye, and ear, and sense are lost. Man sees not, but the sign of onset. Man hears not, but the cry of—"onward."

Not so, the celestial stranger. His spiritual eye, unobscured by artificial night, his spiritual ear, unaffected by mechanic noise, witness the real scene, naked, in all its cruel horrors.

He sees—lopped and bleeding limbs scattered,—gashed, dismembered trunks, outspread, gore-clotted, lifeless ;—brains bursting from crushed skulls ; blood gushing from sabred necks ; severed heads, whose mouths mutter rage, amidst the palsyng of the last agony.

He hears—the mingled cry of anguish and despair, issuing from a thousand bosoms, in which a thousand bayonets turn,—the convulsive scream of anguish from heaps of mangled, half-expiring victims, over whom the heavy artillery-wheels lumber and crush into one mass, bone, and muscle, and sinew ;—while the fetlock of the war-horse drips with blood, starting from the last palpitation of the burst heart, on which his hoof pivots.

"This is not earth,"—would not such a celestial stranger exclaim ;—"This is not earth"—"this is hell ! This is not man ! but demon, tormenting demon."

Thus exclaiming, would not he speed away to the skies ? His immortal nature unable to endure the folly, the crime, and the madness of man.

If in this description, there be nothing forced, and nothing exaggerated ; if all great battles exhibit scenes, like these, only multiplied ten thousand times, in every awful form, in every cruel feature, in every

heart rending circumstance ; will society, in a high state of moral and intellectual improvement endure their recurrence ? As light penetrates the mass, and power with light, and purity with power, will men, in any country, consent to entrust their peace and rights, to a soldiery like that of Europe, described as “ a needy, sensual, vicious cast, reckless of God and man, and mindful only of their officer ? ”

Even in Europe, is not a brighter and purer day breaking ? Even there, though overwhelmed by the weight of mightiest monarchies, public opinion heaves and shakes the mountain mass, by which the moral and intellectual developement of human nature is oppressed. Already the middling classes of society have burst the ancient feudal chains, and priest-craft manacles, and vindicated for themselves, a glorious day ; under whose light, knowledge and virtue are expanding, and checking the crimes of courts, as well as of the crowd, and pointing with the finger of authoritative scorn at the vices of the high and the noble, not less than at those of the low and ignoble.

“ Revolutions go not backward.” Neither does the moral and intellectual progress of the multitude. Light is shining where once there was darkness ; and is penetrating and purifying the once corrupt and enslaved portions of our species. It may, occasionally, and for a season, be obscured ; or seem retrograde. But light, moral and intellectual, shall continue to ascend to the zenith until that, which is now dark, shall be in day ; and much of that earthly crust, which still

adheres to man, shall fall and crumble away, as his nature becomes elevated.

With this progress, it needs no aid from prophecy, none from revelation, to foretel that war, the greatest, yet remaining curse and shame of our race, shall retire to the same cave, where "Pope and Pagan" have retired, to be remembered only, with a mingled sentiment of disgust and wonder, like the war-feast of the savage ; like the perpetual slavery of captives ; like the pledge of revenge, in the scull-bowl of Odin ; like the murder of helots in Greece, and of gladiators, in Rome ; like the witch-burnings, the Smithfield-fires, and St. Bartholomew-massacres, of modern times. At every new moral and intellectual height attained, man looks back on the darkness of the region below, with pity and astonishment, mingled with contempt. And future times shall look back upon the moral and intellectual state of man, at the present day, proud and boastful as we are, with the same sentiments and feelings, with which, in manhood, we look back on the petulance of infancy ; and the weak and toyish wants and passions, which disturbed the tranquillity of our childish years.

If these anticipations have any colour of hope, amid the antique customs and thronged population of Europe, how just and how bright are they, in this favoured country, where God and nature combine to invite man to lay the foundations of a new and happy era, for our race ! How does the moral, intellectual, and local condition of the United States combine to repress all the three causes, "which prepare and dispose states for war." First, by elevating and improv-

ing the condition of the people. Second, by restraining the ambition of rulers. Third, by rendering it easy, if we will, to expunge the entire class of "soldiers profest."

Never did a nation commence its existence, under auspices, so favourable, as did the United States. Other nations advanced slowly from the savage state, or from a state, worse than savage, that of professed robbers and plunderers. On the contrary, the United States, educated, as colonies, under systems of liberty, as pure, as elevated, and as practical, as the wit of man had ever devised, became, as it were, a nation, in a day; without any of those wild excesses and bloody convulsions, which attended the foundation of other nations. Our citizens were, in fact, republicans, when they were, as yet, colonists. On assuming independence, they did little else than transfer the attributes of the monarch to the people; and provide the organs, by which the will of the new sovereign should be expressed. Forms were changed. But their principles, their habits, their manners, underwent no alteration. It is impossible not to perceive how admirably adapted our state of society is, for the cultivation of simplicity, truth to nature, to reason and virtue, in all our purposes, and in all our institutions.

Even our militia system, although regarded by many zealous advocates for peace, as stimulating war, is, in fact, the most powerful means of preventing its recurrence. In the present condition of the world, a well appointed militia is unavoidable, in every state, which would escape the necessity of "a state of sol-

diery professed.” The right to defend its own territories against actual invasion is the last, which society can permit to be questioned. In such a state of moral sentiment, as at present exists among the nations of the earth, the possibility that a nation may be reduced to the necessity of resisting actual invasion is a reason, every where, for warlike preparations. As long as this possibility continues, those advocates for peace, weaken their own ground and narrow their own influence, who put preparations by the militia on a level, in point of moral offence, with preparations by standing armies. In its true character, a militia is a military force, effectual to repel invasion, and effectual for nothing else. Those, therefore, best consult the interests of the pacific system, who admit the necessity, in the present period of society, of preparations by a militia ; thereby depriving the advocates of a standing army of all pretence, grounded on the apprehension of invasion ; and yet, at the same time, adopting a mode of defence, safe for the liberties of the people, and inapplicable to every state of hostilities ; except one ; and that, beyond all doubt, the most unquestionable, in point of principle. The greatest advance to a condition of universal peace would be that, in which there were no “state of soldiers profest ;” no arms, but in the hands of the people ; and the authority to use them limited to the fact of actual invasion.

The local relations of the United States are, in the most extraordinary manner, adapted to limit and decrease the influence of all the causes of war. Our rulers are responsible to the people at short periods. The

extent of our territory is such, that ages must elapse, before our numbers can exceed the productive powers of our soil to support. Of consequence, extreme poverty, which Lord Bacon calls "the hard means to live," will scarce, for ages, be the condition of any important portion of our citizens. With militia power, enough to make all fear of foreign invasion idle, we have territory enough to render all desire in us of foreign acquisition, little less than frantic. What then have we to do with a standing army? Of all nations, under heaven, the United States have the least apology for possessing even a shadow of such an institution. If any nation was, or ever can be safe, with a militia alone, that nation is the United States.

Such are the answers to the questions, relative to the auspices, which attended the foundation of your society, and the hopes, which accompany its progress. They are neither few, in number; nor doubtful, in type. They are as certain as the capacity of man for moral improvement; and as positive as the development of that capacity is unquestionable. Societies, like yours, are at once evidences of the fact, and instruments to ensure the fulfilment of the hope. They are the repositories of that moral and intellectual armory, which is destined to be the means under Providence, of breaking in pieces the sword, the spear and the battle-axe, and every other implement of war, in like manner as the rays of light and of truth, concentrated by the magic mirror of Cervantes, melted into air and dissipated, the dwarfs, the knights, the giants, the enchanter and battlements of ancient chivalry.

These means are as plain, as their tendency is noble. Whatever there is in the circumstances of the time, tending to make war, less frequent, less probable, or more odious, on that seize; that analyze, display and enforce. Bring the principles, connected with those circumstances, home to men's business and bosoms; not by discoursing on the beauty of moral truth and on the bliss of a tranquil state, but by exhibiting those facts and relations, existing among men and between societies, which, if cherished and multiplied and strengthened, give rational grounds of belief that brighter and calmer days may be made to dawn and be perpetuated on our tempest-torn race.

The reasons of this belief, take with you into life. Carry them into the haunts of men, press them upon all, who guide and influence society. Make, if possible, a recognition of them a condition of political power. Above all, satisfy the people of their true interests. Show your fellow-citizens of this, and the men of every other country, that war is a game ever played for the aggrandizement of the few, and for the impoverishment of the many; that those, who play it voluntarily, do it always for selfish, never for public purposes; that war-establishments are every where scions of despotism; that when engrafted on republics, they always begin by determining the best sap to their own branch; and never fail to finish by withering every branch, except their own.

Be not then discouraged, gentlemen. True it is, yesterday's sad event has filled all our hearts, with a deep sorrow. He, who at your last anniversary, on this occasion, in this place, and at this hour, was ad-

dressing you, now lies low, in death. Heaven has willed ; and Gallison* is gone. His warm heart is cold. His mortal light is quenched. His pure example lives only in remembrance. He is gone ;—

* JOHN GALLISON, Esq. who died on the 24th December, 1820.—On the 26th instant, the Bar of the county of Suffolk, at a meeting holden, to consider what measures had become proper in consequence of his decease, unanimously passed the following votes—

Voted, That the members of the Bar will attend the funeral of Mr. Gallison :—and that crape be worn by the members, until the end of the present term of the Supreme Court.

Voted, That the following notice of Mr. Gallison's decease be recorded in the books of the Bar.

"The members of our association have been assembled by their common sorrow and sympathy occasioned by the bereavement which the profession and the community have sustained in the decease of Mr. Gallison.

"As a fraternity, our strength is impaired ;—as members of society, we are sorrowers in common with all who respect learning, integrity, fidelity, piety, and whatsoever tends to adorn and elevate the fellowship of men.

"The emanations from Mr. Gallison's mind and heart were so familiar to us and of such daily experience, that like some of the most common, though most precious of blessings, it is only by unexpected and irretrievable loss that their just value is perceived.

"Professional learning, in Mr. Gallison, was scarcely a subject of remark. We all felt that he must be learned, for we all knew that he severely exacted of himself to be competent to whatsoever he undertook ;—diligence and fidelity were his peculiar qualities ; his moral sense made them so ;—he could never inspire a confidence that he could not fully satisfy.

"It is not only a learned, a diligent, a faithful minister of justice, that is lost to us ; the public have lost one of the purest and most indefatigable and most capable of all men who have attempted to illustrate the utility of professional learning ; to prove the beauty and fitness of morality, and to give new attraction to the truth of revealed sanctions. It was among the favorite pursuits and objects of our deceased brother, to trace the connexion and dependence which exist between learning, religion, morality, civil freedom, and human happiness.

"The very virtues which we admired are the cause of our present regret. His labours were incessant—and through these his course is terminated at an early age. However brief, his life has been long enough to furnish a valuable commentary on our professional, moral, and political institutions. He lived long enough to prove that an unaided individual, of such qualities as those which we are called on to regret, will find a just place in the community. He has proved that an unassuming citizen of chastened temper, amiable deportment, indefatigable industry, incorruptible integrity, and sincere attachment to the public welfare, will always be felt, known, and honoured. He has proved that a man who was never known among his contemporaries, associates, and rivals to have refused to others what belonged to them ; or to have assumed to himself what was not his own, cannot go down to the tomb unattended by general and heart-felt regret."

A copy of the records.

W. J. SPOONER, Sec'y.

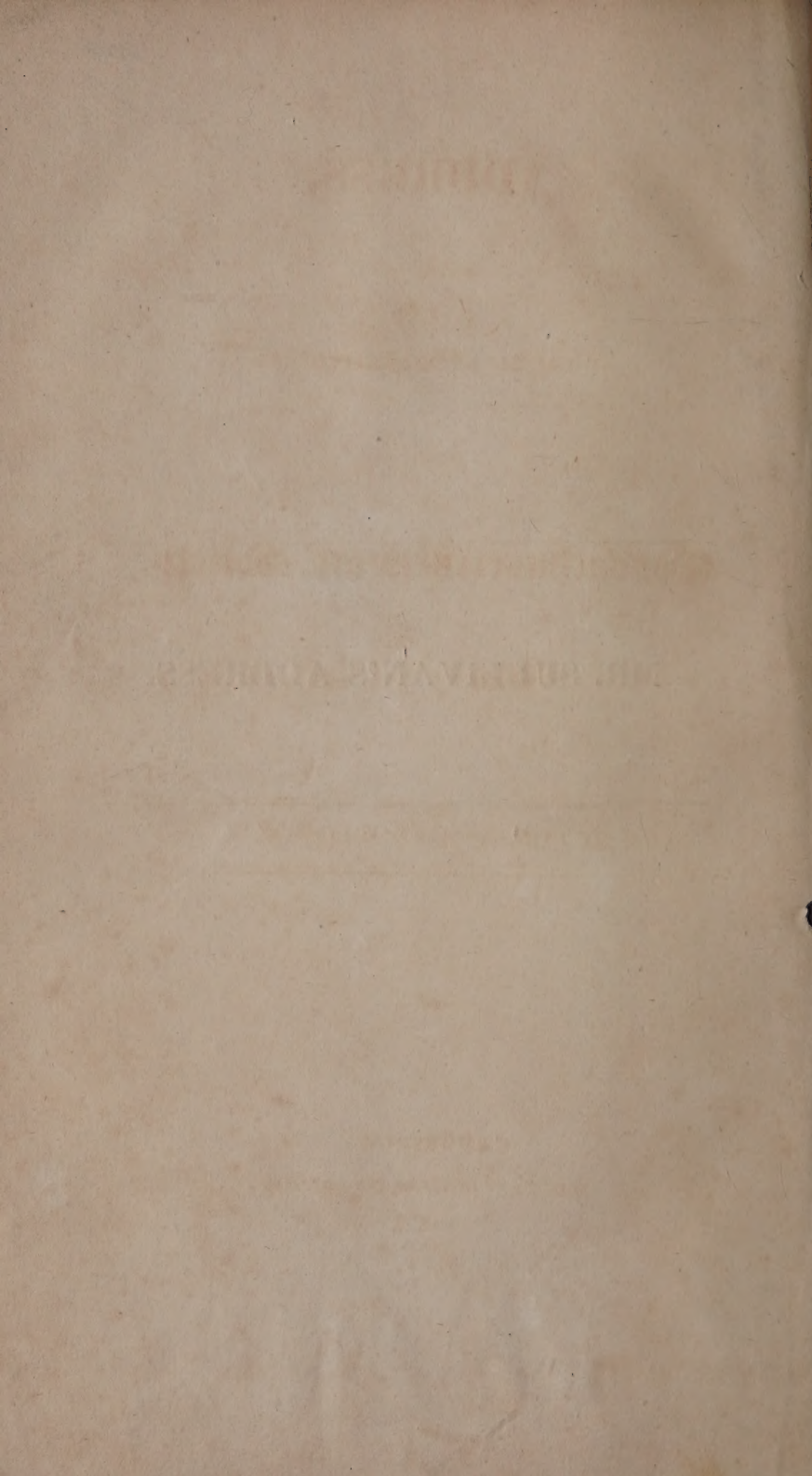
the pious, the excellent ; the learned man ; an ornament of our bar ; a model for our youth ; the delight of the aged ; one of the choice hopes of our state ; whom all honoured, for his worth was at once solid and unobtrusive ; whom none envied, for his acquisitions, though great and rare, were but the fair harvest of his talents, of his labour and his virtues.

Let not this Providence discourage. Your brother has only taken early possession of the promise to the "pure in heart." He now "beholds his God." Could his spirit speak, it would be but to repeat to you the language of his Redeemer—"BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS, FOR THEY SHALL BE CALLED THE CHILDREN OF GOD." Like him make yourselves worthy of the hope, and heirs of the promise. Set before your eyes the glorious nature of the object, at which you aim. Absolute failure is impossible, because your purposes concur with all the suggestions of reason ; all the indications of nature ; all the testimony of history ; and all the promises of religion. They are pure ; elevated ; divine. Your end is the honour and happiness of your race. Your means are the advancement of the moral and intellectual character of man.

What though the image you assail, be great ; and the form thereof terrible ; and its brightness, dazzling ? What though its head be of brass, and its arms and legs and body of iron ? Its feet are but clay. The stone, which is cut out of the mountain without hands, shall dash it in pieces ; and shall, itself, become a great mountain, and cover the whole earth.

*7572 40

MR. SULLIVAN'S ADDRESS.



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ADDRESS,

DELIVERED

AT THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

Massachusetts Peace Society,

DECEMBER 25th, 1822.

BY HON. RICHARD SULLIVAN.

CAMBRIDGE :

PRINTED BY HILLIARD AND METCALF.

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ADDRESS.

WHEN the inquiry is made, whether it be practicable to procure the abolition of war,—it is thought by some a suitable occasion to remind us how frequently nature seems to delight in violence, and how universal is war among animated beings. Those terrific agents, the volcano, the earthquake, the tornado, the raging torrent and desolating fire, are pressed upon our notice. We cannot, it is said, but observe how the beasts of the field, birds, fishes and insects, in common with men, after being reared to their full growth by preying upon other species, delight to expend their strength in destroying the individuals of their own—and such, we are told, is the universal law of Nature.

If the law of Nature involves man in the same humble destiny of the brute creation—if nature has nothing to do with reason and religion—if the passions and appetites *only* are her ministers,—then, so long as the most ferocious of animals shall continue to wage war against its species, we can have no hope that hostilities will cease among the human race. But reason, conscience and religion are no less a part of the

original constitution of man, than his passions, and his capacity for moral improvement, to its full extent, is also a gift of Nature. Might we suppose the passions brought into entire subjection, and the whole circle of the virtues established in any individual, in no part of his progress to this moral eminence would he have departed from the course of nature, any more than in the process of his animal growth. To say then, that reason and conscience command men to abstain from war, is to say,—that such is the command of Nature—that it is unnatural for moral and intelligent beings to indulge in war.

Again, it is said that war is natural, and therefore justifiable, as a corrective of the evils of a redundant population. But under what wise and provident government has it ever happened, that the resources of a country were exhausted, and no relief to be afforded by emigration, so that a portion of the people must be sent to die on the field of battle, that the rest might have a competent subsistence? If the instance could be named, there might be some plausibility in the doctrine, that murder is the proper cure for starvation. But unhappily for the advocates of it, the most populous nation on the globe, and that in which, to use the language of the political economists of the day, “the population presses most hard upon the means of subsistence,” is the most pacific that has ever existed.—I speak of the Chinese. Besides, can it be believed that the Creator is an intelligent being, and that he is gifted, if no more, with the moral powers common even to men, and that he should have appointed war among his permanent agents for merely physical ends,

when by its character, it must necessarily do more, and has in fact done more, to retard the moral improvement and happiness of the human race, than any single cause whatever. It would be difficult to discover in the opinion to which I have alluded any recognition of the proper attributes of the Deity, or so high an estimation of the moral and intellectual as of the merely physical and perishable part of man.

There are those who, far from denying that reason and a sense of a religion are original distinctive qualities in the human race, assign them an important office in the social condition of man. They claim for their authority the regulation of the passions and affections of individuals, of members of families and communities when united under a common government, but no right of influence beyond the political jurisdiction of such government. They conceive that in the affairs of nations as between each other, neither reason nor religion have any concern ; that in respect to these, man is left to be directed solely by a blind passion of sordid interest, and is at full liberty to take council of ambition, avarice or revenge ; and that nature has not failed to give efficiency to this lawless principle of interest, as she has implanted in the same bosom with a sense of religion and a power of conscience, an extinguishable love of War ; that as nations, in their political capacity, never go to another world to account for their conduct here, (like corporations having no souls,) so men as subjects and citizens, have no moral ties with foreign nations ; and finally, that a nation, in its aggregate political character, may remain as barbarous as the savage of the forest, while the individuals, who compose it, are humane, polished and enlightened !

In the quiet of peace it is intimated, ambition may be chastised, revenge suppressed, avarice subdued, and the gentler virtues be called up to rule over social intercourse, while a demoniac spirit of war lies lurking at the heart, which, when the war-trump sounds, arouses in its might, reconquers from reason and religion the subdued passions, and breathes into them afresh all their original ferocity and un pitying cruelty.

To the history of our race we are referred, as a test of the correctness of the views here presented of human nature, and we are called upon to notice, that of the generations of men for six thousand years, there has not been one, whose blood has not flowed by the hand of violence—that nations, whether barbarous or civilized, christian or pagan, worshippers of the one true God, or of stocks and stones, have given themselves with equal readiness and equal ardour, to war,—have practised, if not the same, as great enormities, and, rude or refined, have enjoyed with the same savage pleasure the bustle and the carnage of the field of battle, the plunder and desolation of cities, the ravage of harvests, and all the excesses which ordinarily follow in the train of victory.

But we may ask, how it is, that nations, in whose name barbarities like these are practised, have come to be called humane, cultivated and refined? Surely individuals, who have been the authors or approvers of ambitious war, could have given no claim to a nation to be thus styled. Its claim, when well founded, is derived from a different source. In order to be humane and refined, there must be not a few of such as perceive as well the injustice, as the impolicy of am-

bitious wars ; not a few who hold that the same principle of moral obligation which binds individuals, should bind nations to each other, and very many who by their peaceful virtues, have enriched their country with its numerous comforts, have cherished institutions for the promotion of piety and knowledge, and have evidenced to the world how far more glorious, as well as more happy, would be the fate of the nations, were the virtues which distinguish them, as they are the source of a nation's prosperity, also the pride of its government. But, while a large portion of a people may be enlightened and inclined to favour a just and humane policy towards foreign countries, the character of their government may, from its nature, perhaps, be beyond their influence, and be distinguished for its frauds and violence, and thus, while the good and wise by the splendour of their virtues, may reflect a lustre on the name of their country, as a refined and christian nation, the government, by its vices, may indicate that between the virtuous among the subjects and its rulers, there are no sympathies.

In justice therefore to human nature, we are not to ascribe the guilt and dishonour of unprincipled war to the mass of a civilized people ; it could never be right to do so. There are savages in all nations, with whom such wars originate, and under whose auspices they are conducted.

Thus, when we blend the whole population of a country together, and confound the government with the people, it may seem that even a refined, humane and religious nation, is sometimes chargeable with wars of aggression, and with barbarities becoming only the

habits of the wild man of the forest. But in scrutinizing more closely, we find that the ambitious, restless or capricious temper of a few, or perhaps of an individual, constituted as are some governments, give birth to wars, which in their progress, not only inflict severe sufferings on the mass of the nation, but fill millions of virtuous subjects who bear the burden, and share the odium of the prince's policy, with horror and disgust.

The bloody revolutions and wasting wars which stand so prominent on the face of history, conceal almost every thing else, or at least leave an impression, that a detail of the vices of men in different ages comprehends almost all there is to be learnt of the species. But there is a history of the virtues of mankind as well as of their vices. Human reason, no less than the passions, has been in active operation in all ages of the world, and even without the aid of divine revelation has exerted so great an influence over individuals, if not over nations, as ought to convince us that there is no such thing as an innate, unconquerable passion for war. Among the people, who were peculiarly favoured by the Almighty in the earlier ages of the world, we cannot doubt it was a truth familiar at all times to the minds of the reflecting, and which always had its due weight with the virtuous, that there are by nature the same relations existing between nations, as between families, and that they are bound together by a common interest.

That sovereign of the Jews, who has been styled the wisest of men, and who was no less distinguished by his felicity than by his wisdom, was a pacific prince,

and waged no war during his entire reign, notwithstanding the immense resources of his kingdom. And we are told that he was thus favored by the Almighty, because, among other things, he asked not of God *the life of his enemies*.

Among heathen nations there were great numbers who thought no moral code could be complete, which was not broad enough to embrace nations as well as individuals. Amidst the corruption, bred among the people at Athens by a prosperous fortune in war, Socrates could still find pupils willing to hear that morality was the basis of *all sound policy*, as humanity was of the only legitimate law of nations.

There were no doubt thousands of virtuous men, who cordially united with Cicero in his abhorrence of the state of society in Rome, in his reprobation of unjust war, and in its natural tendency to bring ruin upon a nation,—when he said, “We” (the Romans) “have fallen indeed into a profound abyss of calamity. “The face of things has wholly changed, since the “outrages we have committed against other nations “have, by degrees, hardened us to be unjust and cruel “towards our own citizens. Avarice, insolence, and “tyranny have silenced the laws—they prey upon our “allies with unrelenting fury. All authority is set at “defiance; so that we continue to exist as a nation, “rather by the weakness of our enemies, than by any “power we have to resist invasion.” Nor were there probably fewer among his countrymen who could sincerely have joined with him in the humane sentiment, “that all men should be as brethren—the whole earth “as one commonwealth.”

If we take up the favorable side of the history of mankind from the christian era, we have exhibited to us a far more elevated and encouraging view of the moral capacity of the human race. To put at rest the incredulousness of men, as to their power to attain to the high destiny offered to their acceptance, the Saviour of the world was himself made an example of what men were declared to be capable, of what they were ultimately to become. Tempted in all respects, like other men, he was yet without sin. As one of ourselves, "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," yet inspired by the Most High, he proclaimed, *peace on earth, and good will to men*. His instructions were plain and simple, and comprehended nothing important which was not easy to be understood. He addressed himself, emphatically, to the people—clearly intimating, that when the mass of mankind should be taught their duties and true interests, apart from the impositions of bigotry, and the restraints of political tyranny, then it would be made manifest to all men that no further interposition of heaven by miracle was required to establish permanent peace on earth.

Unhappily for the only valuable use of history and a just view of human nature, political annals, in displaying the successful fortunes of warlike rulers, do not bring into notice, with sufficient prominence, the sentiments of the intelligent and virtuous on the character of a war policy—nor are we often enough permitted to see in one connected view, the glory of the warrior, the sacrifices by which it was obtained, and the consequent misery of the nation which has been required to make them. What portion of the young

who follow with their admiration the Macedonian Alexander, reflect, that the character which is so full of attraction to them, was lamented by the good among his subjects, as a misfortune to their country? The spoils of vanquished nations, it is true, were brought home to enrich the people. It was however but for a moment—they were to be corrupted and rendered worse than poor by their vices. Families were broken up to supply the ceaseless demand of new levies for the army, the passions were pampered, and every indulgence permitted to make excess habitual, the more easily to dissolve the ties of domestic life by creating a disrelish for its sober enjoyment. While some rioted in a momentary abundance, others were mourning in despair the loss of friends who had perished in arms; and wise men bemoaned their country, as no less the victim of their monarch's ambition, than the nations who perished by his sword. Such is the character of the scene which, with more or less colouring, will always be exhibited in the bosom of his country, however imposing may be the conqueror's successes, and the shew of benefits attending them.

But in further proof that there is in man an innate passion for war, it will be said that good men, men of irreproachable virtue have sometimes been distinguished as warriors—rather, it should be said, as the defenders of the just rights of their country—for in such a cause only can good men ever be engaged. We cannot blame the forester who arms to protect himself against the beasts of the wilderness; nor can we, it would seem, with any better reason, censure those who provide a defence against the no less cruel assaults of

unprincipled rulers of nations. All citizens may surely lend their aid in such a cause, without impeachment of their virtue or their consistency as christians. To this end they may study and practise the art of war without reproach. Purely defensive war associates itself so naturally with all the innocent means by which life and its common blessings are protected from hazard, that however much we may respect the motives and feelings of those who, from a sense of duty, endure aggression without resistance, we cannot withhold our sympathy and esteem from any, who, respecting the rights of others, defend their own—who, doing no violence, suffer none.

We are accustomed to speak in terms of admiration of men, who have fought for the liberties of their country—we dwell with enthusiasm on the spirit of our fathers. But it is not their valor or military skill which causes the emotion we feel. No! these have their proper place in our esteem; but it is the virtue, the moral grandeur, the disinterested love of country, which fixes our admiration. We recall the scenes of their achievements, not to retrace the details of their battles,—other men have fought as well, and their names have perished with them,—we recall these scenes with pleasure, because they have witnessed exhibitions of high moral excellence, and a spirit in no degree at variance with the spirit of peace and good will to men. Did their actions compel us to think less highly of their virtue than of that of Aristides and the Athenian people, who rejected with disdain a scheme of Themistocles, because, though highly advantageous to Athens, it was unjust in itself, their names might

form so many brazen links in the chain of history, but their memories would never live in the hearts of their countrymen.

Another reason against the existence of an innate, incorrigible passion for war is—that every principle implanted by nature has some obvious use. But a passion for war has no natural tendency to any good end. It is not a minister of justice, but a minion of fortune,—a destroyer and a profitless consumer. A nation, which gives itself up to a career of conquests, sooner or later, corrupts and impoverishes itself, just as certainly as the land of Egypt would be rendered sterile were the Nile diverted from its course and poured to waste on the deserts of Arabia. And “no nation,” (said an eminent British statesman) “that has made war for commerce, “ever found the object accomplished on concluding “peace.”

By far the greater part of the people of every civilized country, are necessarily engrossed by peaceful pursuits; from which they derive their means of subsistence,—and it would not be possible for such a nation to exist, were only a sixth part of its able population engaged for a long time in active operations in war. What then becomes of the passion for war? The truth appears to be, that there is neither inclination nor taste for war discernible in the great body of a people in any civilized community. On the contrary, a manifest reluctance appears always, when armies are to be recruited, and more strikingly still, when young men are torn from their friends, under a rigorous and general conscription. The common soldier is a hireling, and takes up the occupation only as a last

resort when every other resource has failed. There can be no unconquerable passion for war, when most men are so ready to resign its toils to those who are willing to assume them.

To what then are we to ascribe the influence of the pomp and circumstance of war on the mind? Why is it that the shrill trumpet and spirit-stirring drum inflame the imagination and quicken the pulsations?—that armies in array, with flowing banners and glittering arms, extort the admiration of all orders of men, and rouse an intemperate and restless energy, which there is a strong desire to expend upon some foe? What then, let me ask, is the character of the feeling which attends this excitement? Is it generous, or ignoble? Are not the associations, which crowd upon the mind of a populace at sight of the equipage and mimicry of war, such as a virtuous and christian patriot may approve, or are they of a malignant cast? Let those answer who have had opportunity to observe with what enthusiastic plaudits, sentiments in honor of virtue and humanity are always received in popular assemblies, and have heard the murmurs of disgust and horror, which undisguised cruelty and wanton injury always draw from the multitude. In fact the splendor with which armies are invested, and the animating strains of martial music, far from being the natural associates of the ferocious feelings which delight in unprovoked war, are employed rather to conceal them. These means of fascination were borrowed from the peaceful arts, from taste and genius, to allure men, unwilling else, from the paths of tranquil industry and domestic peace. Among the pleasing images with

which these regale the mind, those of the sufferings and miseries of war are never intermingled. We never beheld on the field of parade, garments which have been rolled in blood :—It is the pride of the soldier that his habiliments are as spotless as the robes of innocence. We never see the sabre which has been stained with the life-blood of a fellow being,—it would be disgrace to exhibit to public view, a sword less bright than the stars which move in the pure ether. The vocabulary of the soldier contains no words to express the varied horrors of a field of battle, or the excesses which attend an abuse of victory. But the word *honor* may be found there. Honor! that word, so privileged above every other to import things contradictory and wholly irreconcilable!

I have said that most men in civilized life are necessarily engrossed by peaceful occupations. They are conscious of no violence done to their nature, of which reason is an essential part, in reducing their passions to a harmony with their duties. Their *inclinations* are for peace. There is excitement enough in the business, cares, and pleasures of common life, to keep up rational and healthful exercise of the mind and the affections. A passion for war is never found existing to poison the pleasures of tranquil life, and render the labours of it distasteful. And it is no reproach to the memory of any one, when, after a long life, he descends to the grave, that he has never seen a field of battle, or shed the blood of a fellow being.

Opulent cities, flourishing towns, cultivated fields, are every where the work of those who have had no part in the toils of mercenary war.

Besides, it is in the natural order of Providence that, with industry and the success which attends it, the views and feelings of men should expand; and new fields of exertion and enterprise be sought, and new resources developed, to give support to a greater number of human beings. Neither national lines nor seas nor oceans form barriers to this tendency. The varieties of climate on the earth occasion that diversity in natural productions, and in the genius and habits of the people, and in the manufactures and modes of embellishing life, which affords a basis for commerce, and thus forms a tie of common interest among nations. This is understood by the inhabitants in each, and a strong desire arises to avail of the advantages thus opened.

If at home, in the bosom of their own country, friendship and affection have grown from a common origin, from similarity of tastes and habits, friendship and good will are not less naturally the product of that difference in circumstances between people of different nations, which on a just view is an inexhaustible source of benefits. Difference of language and customs forms no insuperable obstacle. The individuals on the one side and the other soon discover that they have sympathies as men, and they become united by family alliance as well as by ties of business and friendship. The peculiar customs and habits on the one side are in a measure adopted on the other. Those arts which are prosecuted in the one country with most success, transfer their improvements—tastes become assimilated—prejudices melt away, and with a continuance of peace, there is a natural progression towards an union of sentiment and feeling.

Thus throughout the civilized world looking to the mass of people, and viewing them as detached from their respective governments, it would not be altogether visionary to imagine, that were the question of a continuance of peace to rest with them, and a free commerce were established, peace might be perpetual. Jealousies would arise, but a sense of interest would prevent an open rupture;—rivalries would grow up, but the resources of invention and enterprise would divert the industry of the parties from angry collision. There being no policy of monopoly or exclusion, the world would be a common field, and each nation, according to its activity, ingenuity and skill, would be entitled to sow and to reap. If any one were to resume and appropriate to itself its local advantages, it would be at the expense of its share in the commerce of the world. And as every people on the earth have by nature an equal capacity for religious, moral and political truth, the intellectual labors of all would form a common fund, and the few, simple and plain truths, which comprehend what is important in religion, right in morals and just in government, would find their way to the minds and hearts of all men.

Such would seem to be the result of a natural operation of a sense of interest in the human race, were men but enlightened enough to pursue it, and were political governments simply what they ought to be, and were designed to be, institutions over the people for their protection in the enjoyment of all their natural advantages.

But in viewing the nations of the earth with reference to the great object of permanent peace, we

unhappily perceive, that the character of most of the governments has hitherto formed one of the principal obstacles, I will not say to its attainment, but to a more rapid advance towards it.

If ambitious war, besides its injustice, is always unfriendly to the interests of the people, by whose government it is waged, and is felt to be so, it is certainly allowable for good men to wish, that in all countries, the body of the people may obtain such an influence in public affairs, as effectually to check abuse of power by rulers. It shocks all our just notions of political economy and of government to suppose, that rulers can have one set of interests, and the people another ;—that a monarch can be said to have advanced his own interest, and established his glory, by a course of policy burdensome, if not ruinous, to his subjects ; that he can enrich himself by a measure which will impoverish them—that he should be authorized to view them, if he so will, as senseless weapons or instruments, by which he may annoy other nations for his amusement, and gather spoil, rather than as fellow beings, endowed with the same feelings and capacity as himself, having the same wants, and, each one, rights and interests of his own, which he has a fair claim to have respected and preserved inviolate by the power of the prince.

Surely the time cannot be far distant, when the principles, on which purely arbitrary government rests will cease to have an application in civilized countries. When it will no longer be thought necessary to submit to the absolute rule of one man, and to legalize all his infirmities and vices, as the only means of accomplish-

ing the objects of government, and of preventing anarchy among the people. When all that is most brutal in human nature will not be expected of the people, and all that is corrupt and licentious tolerated in the prince—when his humours and passions will not be thought to have as fair a claim to a seat on the throne as his virtues—when it will be discovered that there is, and ever ought to be, a moral tie between the monarch and his subjects—when it will be understood that there is a better measure of right than his absolute will, and a more just measure of duty, on the part of the subject, than unqualified obedience. When, in fine, the natural relation between government and the people shall be fully recognized, “and kings,” to use the words of an ancient biographer, “will no longer be ambitious to be styled *takers of cities,—thunderbolts,—nay, eagles and vultures*; preferring the fame of power to that of virtue.” If this were once so throughout the world, we might desire no surer guarantee that men would cease from war. But how can we wonder that under governments such as have been, and as now exist, in some nations, so many desolating wars and frightful revolutions should have followed in quick succession? We might rather express surprise that there should not have been more. Let it be considered that absolute princes have the infirmities common to other men, that their temptations are far greater, their passions less under control, because they are neither amenable to laws, nor to public opinion; that the avenues by which the feelings, the wants, and the interests of their subjects might reach the throne, are closed up by the throng of courtiers who surround it, and we

shall be no longer astonished, as we turn over the pages of history to perceive, that circumstances the most trivial, motives the most absurd, caprice the most wanton, and passions the most malignant, have had a large share in producing the wars which have afflicted the human race. Crowned heads, indeed, have in all ages, been so much accustomed to make a sport of war—there has been so much amusing in the array, the marching and counter-marching of armies, and all the intricate manœuvres of the field,—so much that was exciting in the shock of contending forces, in the blaze and roar of musketry and cannon, and deeply interesting and absorbing in the doubtfulness of the issue, upon which the fate of nations hung, that there seems to have been little thought, or concern, for the millions of wretched victims sacrificed to their merry humours and princely refinement. And the habitual insensibility to sufferings occasioned by war to their subjects, on the part of the great, may be the cause why so little feeling has usually been manifested by the world, on hearing of thousands falling in battle, when the casualty of a broken limb, or the death of an individual by violence, in time of peace, excites a general sympathy and deep commiseration.

A portion of the history of modern Europe offers a contrast of the effects of a war and a peace policy, which deserves our notice. James I. of England, whose merit as a sovereign seems, according to the common standard of estimation humble, was of a pacific temper, and resisted, during his whole reign, all solicitation to war. Though a despotic prince, there was no standing army in England during his reign.

The colonies in North America were then first permanently planted ; great encouragement was given to manufactures and agriculture ; foreign commerce was placed on a liberal footing ; an intercourse was opened with India, and “it may be affirmed,” says Hume, “that during no preceding period of English history, was there a more sensible increase, than during the reign of this monarch, of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people. In this pacific reign in fact was laid the *broad foundation of the present wealth and splendour of the British Empire.*”

On the other hand, we behold in Louis XIV. of France, a lover of military renown. With every personal attraction to command respect, and no less despotic over the affections than over the fortunes and lives of his subjects—with great internal resources—with the best troops and the greatest captains of Europe—he commenced his career of glory. Success every where attended his arms,—and he began, like some few other distinguished conquerors, to dream of universal empire. But reverses were hastening to overtake him. His immortal captains perished like other men—and other captains, no less known to fame, rose up on the side of his enemies. The immense treasures lavished in the hope of increasing his resources, made no return but of increasing burdens. His armies were every where beaten, his conquests lost, his military fame tarnished, and his vision of universal empire vanished away ; leaving behind nothing but an immense debt, a corrupt nobility, and an abused and suffering people ; and thus was laid by Louis the foundation of that awful revolution, which for twenty five years, kept the

world in amazement, and which was finally terminated by exhibiting, mid way in the ocean, on a desert rock, the greatest hero of our age, the object of the world's mingled pity and reproach, sent there to expiate by a lingering death, the crime of *lawless military ambition*.

In our own happy country, the notion of government is comprised in this—that it is an institution of the people to protect their own interests. All its measures have strictly this end in view. It leaves to the people the fruits of their industry, and encourages every institution by which they may continue moral, enlightened, and religious. And it is among the blessings of a general diffusion of knowledge, that it always maintains its proper influence over the community. While an individual, however enlightened, may sometimes be borne away by passion, the tone of the public character is not liable to be impaired by any such influence. While therefore institutions are maintained for the instruction of the people at large in piety, morality and useful knowledge, the virtue of a people as a whole will remain secure. Could we suppose then an ambitious war begun through the momentary influence of a bad spirit in the councils of the nation?—the appeal which would be made to the good sense, the interest, and the humanity of the people, at the next election of rulers, would soon terminate it. But there can be no doubt, that the clear perception which the community must always have of the injurious operation of any such war upon the prosperity and happiness of the country, will always prove an effectual admonition to rulers. There is then *one nation at least* on the globe,

whose policy, derived from the character of the people and the form of its institutions, will invariably be in favor of peace. Our standard of the rights and duties of men is in view of all the world. But we ought not to desire to see it erected in other countries as the signal for premature, violent and bloody revolutions. It can be maintained here only by the perpetual vigilance of an enlightened and virtuous people ; it can be maintained no where else but by a like people, and a like vigilance. But we may be assured that the example of our country is not lost upon the world. The importance of the people in other countries has been fast increasing with the progress of commerce, and the unwearied efforts of genius of the highest order to invent facilities for imparting useful knowledge to the lower orders. The printing press, while by the blessing of Providence it has been made in a measure the corrective of that natural tendency of an influx of wealth to corrupt the morals, has by the aid derived from the riches of commerce established copious fountains of useful knowledge in all parts of the civilized world. And, in consequence, many errors and abuses have been suppressed—and the present defects in existing institutions, hostile in their spirit to the welfare of mankind, and the cause of peace, are but remnants of a great mass, which heretofore have pressed heavily, but have now disappeared. The avenues of commerce are always avenues of intelligence. The general commerce of the world has been resumed since the last war, on principles of a more liberal cast than any admitted before—and we have seen the relaxation of an exclusive system on the part of one nation, which was maintain-

ed for a long time, with unyielding pertinacity—no slight indication this, that commerce will at some period, be wholly and every where free, and the natural fruit of the great spring, which will be thus given to the activity, enterprise and intelligence of mankind will be an enlightened public opinion in all countries, on all subjects relating to the most valuable interests of the great human family. Governments will then of course become ministers for good and not evil to men, and will be every where influenced by the same spirit as the people.

How encouraging, Gentlemen of the Peace Society, is the present state of the world in many of its aspects, to the great object of your labors! Avarice has yielded to the importunity of an enlightened philanthropy and has given up the slave trade. Those of the South American states which have achieved their freedom, and are now in comparative repose, have commenced laying the foundation of institutions for diffusing liberal knowledge among the people, convinced that it is the only security for rational liberty. In the extreme west of Europe a revolution has been accomplished from despotic power to constitutional freedom without bloodshed. The only power in Europe, which professes itself an enemy to Christianity, is inviting by its mad policy, the fatal blow which must soon exterminate it forever. A spirit is beginning to prevail in Europe, favorable to a temperate inquiry into the principles of just government and pure religion; and as these are subjects of common interest to all men, associations formed in different countries, have united themselves as brethren for mutual aid, encouragement

and information. And while the Gospel, which is the foundation of the best hopes of mankind, as well in this, as in a future state, is on its way to every cottage in every country, there are thousands of enlightened and philanthropic men, who believing that the time has already come, when the natural fruit of the gospel, *peace and good will to men*, should be tendered to the acceptance of nations and individuals, have formed associations under the name of Peace Societies, to exhort their fellow men, in the name of the Saviour, to cultivate peace.

Such a society I have the honor to address, and assured, as I am, that its objects, and the means adopted to accomplish them, are, and always will be, in perfect accordance, as well with the duties of the citizen, as with the best feelings of our nature, I should fail in justice to the occasion, did I not avail myself of it, to say to those, who either doubt the soundness of your views, or the efficacy of your labors, that if, as Christians, they desire that the spirit of Christianity may rule in the world, then are they with *you in heart and mind*.

